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CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING THE

RELATIONS

BETWEEN

TURKEY AND EGYPT.

May 1869 to February 1870.

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CONFIDENTIAL.

Correspondence respecting the Relations between Turkey and Egypt: 1869-70.

No. 1.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received May* 22.)

Constantinople, May 22, 1869, 2 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)

I LEARN, confidentially, that General Menabrea has informed the Turkish Minister at Florence that, as the Italian Government has nothing to do with the relations between the Sultan and the Viceroy of Egypt, when His Highness goes to Florence the King will receive him as he would any other foreign Prince.

The Turkish Government have replied that, if the Viceroy is received by the King otherwise than presented by the Sultan's Minister, it will be regarded as want of proper consideration for the Porte.

No. 2.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir A. Paget.

Foreign Office, May 24, 1869, 4 P.M.

(Telegraphic.)

I HAVE received the following figures from Mr. Elliot, dated Constantinople, May 22 :—

[See No. 1.]

No. 3.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received May* 25.)

Florence, May 25, 1869.

(Telegraphic.)

THE Turkish Minister is quite satisfied with the manner in which the Viceroy has been received.

No. 4.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received May* 26.)

Florence, May 21, 1869.

(No. 164.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that His Highness the Pasha of Egypt is expected to arrive at Florence on the 23rd instant, on a visit to the King.

His Majesty has sent two "Officiers d'Ordonnance" and a Master of the Ceremonies to meet His Highness at Venice, where he is to disembark; and His Highness is to lodge at the Pitti Palace in Florence.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 5.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received May 30.)

(No. 171.)

My Lord, *Florence, May 26, 1869.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 164 of the 21st instant, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that His Highness the Viceroy of Egypt arrived in Florence on Sunday afternoon, the 23rd instant, by special train from Venice, and that he was met at the railway terminus by Rustem Bey, the Turkish Minister, who presented to His Highness the different Italian authorities who were awaiting His Highness' arrival.

His Highness then got into one of the Court carriages, with Rustem Bey and Nubar Pasha, and drove to the Palace, where Rustem Bey presented General Menabrea, the other Italian Ministers, and the Great Officers of the Court, who were at the bottom of the staircase; and Rustem Bey then accompanied His Highness to the top of the staircase, where he was received by His Majesty the King.

There were guards of honour at the station, as well as at the Palace, and every one was in uniform.

Some of my colleagues went to pay their respects to the Viceroy on Monday morning, and were at once received; but it appeared to me that, before waiting upon His Highness, the proper course to pursue was to inquire through my Turkish colleague whether, and when, it would be agreeable to him to receive me.

Having done this, His Highness was pleased to appoint this afternoon, at 2 o'clock as the time when it would be convenient to him to see me, and I have just returned from my interview.

His Highness was pleased to give me the most gracious reception. He spoke with the greatest satisfaction of the recent visit of their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales to Egypt, to which I was enabled to reply by saying that I had heard from their Royal Highnesses' own lips of the great pleasure they had derived from their tour, and how impressed they were with the cordial welcome they had received from His Highness, and the admirable arrangements which he had made for the comfort and convenience of their journey. After talking for about half-an-hour on other subjects I took my leave.

The Viceroy leaves Florence to-morrow morning for Venice, whence he proceeds to Vienna. His Highness is, I understand, to be at Berlin on the 7th of June, at Paris on the 10th, and in London somewhere about the 20th.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. PAGET.

PS.—I have the honour to inclose herewith extracts from the "Italie" of the 24th and 25th instant, giving further details of His Highness' reception by the King.

A. P.

Inclosure 1 in No. 5.

Extract from "L'Italie" of May 24, 1869.

SON Altesse le Vice-Roi d'Egypte, son fils et les personnages de sa suite sont arrivés à la gare de Santa Maria Novella, cette après-midi à 5 heures 40 minutes.

M. le Général Angelini, Aide-de-camp de Sa Majesté le Roi; M. le Marquis de Montezemolo, Préfet de Florence; M. Peruzzi, Pro-Syndic; Rustem Bey, Ministre de Turquie près notre Cour; Chukri Effendi, Premier Secrétaire, et Morel Effendi, Attaché à la Légation; le Général Cadorna, commandant la Division Militaire de Florence; le Prince Corsini, le Colonel Spinola, Aides-de-camp de Sa Majesté; le Comte Michiel, Officier d'Ordonnance; le Marquis Tolomei, Maître des Cérémonies; les Officiers de la Maison du Roi qui ne sont point actuellement de service, MM. De Renzis, Cololiano, Scacciarozzi, Baldelli, Della Rovere; M. Bella, Commissaire-Général des Chemins de Fer; M. Desanctis, Directeur-Général des Chemins de Fer Romains, &c., se trouvaient à la station pour recevoir le Vice-Roi.

A l'arrivée du train, Rustem Bey, en uniforme officiel, avec le cordon vert des Saints Maurice et Lazare en sautoir, s'est présenté à la portière du wagon-salon, où se trouvait le Vice Roi avec son fils et plusieurs autres personnages; il lui a fait son compliment et il en descendu avant lui. Aussitôt descendu, Rustem Bey a présenté au Vice-Roi le Général Angelini, M. Montezemolo, et M. Peruzzi, à qui le Souverain Egyptien a donné la main.

Ces messieurs se sont inclinés profondément; le Préfet et le Pro-Syndic de Florence, qui étaient en habit bourgeois, se sont seuls découverts. Le Vice-Roi et les personnages Egyptiens et Ottomans portent sur la tête un fez rouge qu'ils n'ôtent jamais.

Le fils du Vice-Roi est un charmant enfant, assez joufflu, âgé de neuf ans; il se nomme Ibrahim Pacha.

Le Vice-Roi et les personnages de sa suite, accompagnés par les officiers de la maison royale, se sont distribués dans les quatre voitures de la Cour à livrée rouge venues pour les attendre.

La foule compacte réunie dans la cour de la station a donné des témoignages de sympathie et de respect.

Deux pelotons du régiment de Savoie-Cavalerie et deux compagnies du 4de de ligne formaient la haie aux approches de la station. La musique du régiment de Savoie-Cavalerie a joué la marche royale d'Italie sur le passage du Vice-Roi.

M. le Marquis Spinola, Aide-de-camp de Sa Majesté le Roi; M. le Comte Michiel, Officier d'Ordonnance; M. le Marquis Tolomei, Maître des Cérémonies, seront spécialement attachés à la personne du Vice-Roi pendant son séjour à Florence.

Inclosure 2 in No. 5.

Extract from "L'Italie" of May 25, 1869.

SÉJOUR DE SON ALTESSE ISMAIL PACHA, KHEDIVE D'EGYPTE.—Les détails que nous avons publiés hier sur la réception de Son Altesse le Khedive d'Égypte (titre officiel supérieur à celui de Vice-Roi) s'arrêtaient à l'arrivée à la station du chemin de fer.

Son Altesse a pris place dans la première voiture de cour, ayant à sa gauche Rustem Bey, Ministre de Turquie, vis-à-vis Nubar Pacha et le Colonel Spinola, aide-de-camp de Sa Majesté le Roi, attaché à sa personne pendant son séjour à Florence.

Dans la deuxième voiture ont pris place le jeune Prince Ibrahim Pacha, fils du Khedive, Zarach Bey, Gouverneur du Prince, Rauh Pacha, Généralissime des troupes Egyptiennes; M. le Comte Tommaso Michiel, officier d'Ordonnance de Sa Majesté, attaché aussi à la personne du Khedive, et un jeune enfant nègre, nommé Cherket, joli et compagnon du Prince Ibrahim Pacha, qui ne se sépare jamais de lui et a désiré qu'il montât dans la voiture.

Dans la troisième prirent place Eram Bey, Secrétaire des Commandements, le Docteur Burguières Bey, Médecin en titre, Riaz Pacha, Trésorier de Son Altesse le Khedive, et un officier de la maison du Roi.

Les autres personnages se sont distribués à leur gré dans les voitures de suite, toujours deux officiers Egyptiens et deux officiers Italiens. Toutes les voitures, sans exception, étaient attelées de deux chevaux, celles de Son Altesse le Khedive et de son fils précédées de deux piqueurs en livrée rouge et chargées de valets de pied en livrée pareille.

Au palais, Son Altesse le Khédive a été reçu, à la descente de voiture, par M. le Général Morozzo della Rocca, Préfet du Palais de Sa Majesté; M. le Marquis Paolo Tolomei, Maître des Cérémonies attaché à la personne de Son Altesse le Khedive pendant son séjour à Florence, comme le plus ancien des officiers qui remplissent cette fonction; M. Giulio Dini, M. Simone Peruzzi, M. le Marquis Latteringo della Stufa, Maîtres des Cérémonies de Sa Majesté, tous en uniforme.

C'est à ce moment qu'ont cessé les fonctions de M. le Comte Andrea Venier, qui est le plus ancien des Maîtres des Cérémonies de Sa Majesté, pour le palais de Venise, et qui, à ce titre, avait été attaché à la personne de Son Altesse le Khedive à Venise, même jusqu'à Florence. M. Andrea Venier a remis ses fonctions à M. le Marquis Paolo Tolomei.

Sa Majesté le Roi attendait Son Altesse le Khedive et son fils au haut du grand escalier, ayant à sa droite M. le Comte Menabrea, Président du Conseil des Ministres et Ministre des Affaires Etrangères; M. le Marquis Gualterio, Ministre de la Maison Royale; M. le Comte Gerbaix de Sonnaz, Grand Veneur; M. Frichignano di Castellengo, Premier Ecuyer; M. le Colonel Enrico Nasi, Premier Officier d'Ordonnance, et plusieurs autres Officiers des Maisons Civile et Militaire de Sa Majesté. Le Roi et tous ces personnages étaient en uniforme. Cette circonstance surprit un peu Son Altesse le Khedive, qui se plaignit agréablement qu'on ne l'eût point averti de se mettre aussi en grand uniforme avant d'arriver à Florence.

Le Roi s'empressa de donner la main à Son Altesse le Khedive et échangea avec lui quelques paroles gracieuses en Français. Sa Majesté donna aussi la main au jeune Prince Ibrahim et lui toucha les joues en manière de caresse charmante. Après les premiers compliments échangés dans le salon d'honneur, Sa Majesté le Roi accompagna son hôte jusqu'à la porte de l'appartement qui lui avait été préparé, et qui est situé, ainsi que nous

l'avons dit, au premier étage du palais, dans l'aile gauche ; cet appartement a été peint par Bezzoli ; il est magnifiquement meublé, ainsi que tout le palais.

Rustem Bey, Ministre de Turquie, est resté quelques instants avec Son Altesse le Khedive en manière de première visite.

Le Prince Ibrahim, qui a désiré avoir encore près de lui son jeune compagnon Chevket, occupe avec son gouverneur les pièces les plus rapprochées de l'antichambre.

Son Altesse le Khedive est installé dans les pièces les plus rapprochées du jardin de Boboli, dont les fenêtres ont vue à la fois sur la cour, sur le jardin, et sur la ville. Cet appartement a été habité successivement par la Reine de Portugal et par le Prince de Carignan.

Nubar Pacha, qui est Ministre des Affaires Etrangères du Khedive, et le principal personnage qui l'accompagne, bien connu d'ailleurs en Europe, est logé au deuxième étage sur la façade.

Nous aurons nommés les principaux personnages de la suite du Khedive, et indiqué leurs fonctions respectives, si nous ajoutons Kairy Bey, qui est Garde des Sceaux.

Ces nous, écrits d'après l'ortographe officielle, doivent servir à rectifier les erreurs qui se seraient glissées précédemment dans nos comptes-rendus, d'après des indications insuffisantes et recueillies à la hâte.

Ce matin, à 10 heures, Son Altesse le Khedive d'Egypte a rendu visite, à Sa Majesté le Roi, dans son appartement ordinaire de la Meridiana. Il a présenté en même temps les principaux personnages qui l'accompagnent.

Après être revenu dans son appartement et avoir déjeuné, le Khedive a reçu individuellement plusieurs Italiens qui ont séjourné en Egypte. Il a reçu aussi le Conseil des Ministres, dont les Membres se sont présentés tous ensemble et en habit du matin. M. le Ministre Gualterio, Ministre de la Maison Royale, s'est présenté en grand uniforme avec tous ses ordres.

Ont été également reçus : M. le Baron de Kubeck, Ministre d'Autriche ; M. de Kisseleff, Ministre de Russie ; M. de Martino, Directeur Général des Chemins de Fer Romains, &c. Les réceptions duraient encore à 4 heures de l'après-midi.

On annonçait que Son Altesse le Khedive rendrait sa visite à Rustem Bey, qu'il ferait une tournée dans les galeries de peinture du Palais Pitti et des Uffizi, que la direction des Musées avaient laissées ouvertes en tout cas ; que, plus tard, avant ou après le dîner, si le temps le permettait, il irait faire une promenade aux Cascine et assister à la représentation du Politeama.

Il y aura demain soir, à 6 heures, au Palais Pitti, un grand dîner de 83 couverts. Sont invités, avec le Khedive, les personnages de sa suite, les Ministres, les Chevaliers de l'Ordre Suprême de la Très-Sainte Annonciade, les Présidents des deux Chambres du Parlement, les grands officiers de la Couronne, les Présidents du Conseil d'Etat et de la Cour de Cassation, le Procureur-Général près la même Cour, le Préfet et le Syndic de Florence, quelques officiers des Maisons Civile et Militaire du Roi, &c.

Le départ de Son Altesse le Khedive paraît fixé à Vendredi matin.

Les obligations de la vaste hospitalité offerte au Souverain Egyptien et à ses Ministres et officiers par le Roi a obligé le service de garde-meuble de détacher trois pièces de la galerie de peinture ouvertes au public, savoir, le salon d'Apollon, le salon de Vénus, et la galerie du Parétti.

L'appartement du Prince Amédée, au deuxième étage de l'aile gauche, est réservé au Duc et à la Duchesse de Saxe-Meiningen, qui sont attendus le 28.

No. 6.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received June 2.)

(No. 236.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, May 22, 1869.*

AN announcement from Rustem Bey that the Italian Government had determined, upon the arrival at Florence of the Viceroy of Egypt, to treat him like an independent foreign Prince, has created a very unpleasant feeling at the Porte, which has replied that such a proceeding would be regarded as a want of the consideration due to the Sultan.

At other foreign Courts the Viceroy has hitherto been presented by the Turkish Ambassador, and it was not to be expected that the Sultan's Government could regard the proposed innovation with complacency.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 7.

Aali Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Clarendon by Musurus Pasha, June 7.)

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le 5 Juin, 1869.*

REÇU télégramme No. 43.

Le logement du Vice-Roi au Palais de Buckingham est très regrettable. Il est impossible que cela ne produise une impression douloureuse sur l'esprit de notre Souverain. J'en ai parlé confidentiellement à M. Elliot.

No. 8.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received June 9.)

(No. 196. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Florence, June 5, 1869.*

WITH reference to the telegram from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, communicated to me by your Lordship, and recorded in your despatch No. 79 of the 24th ultimo, respecting the reception intended to be given by the Italian Government to the Viceroy of Egypt, I have the honour to report that the Turkish Minister has related to me what passed on this subject between himself and Count Menabrea, and that his account tallies with the information received by Mr. Elliot.

Count Menabrea appears to have answered Rustem Bey in a short disagreeable manner; but, however, on the arrival of the Viceroy matters passed off as related in my despatch No. 171 of the 26th ultimo, and Rustem Bey declared himself to me as perfectly satisfied.

An annoying incident, however, occurred afterwards.

At a State dinner given to the Viceroy at the Palace, to which the Turkish Minister was asked, he, instead of being placed, as he ought to have been, next in rank to the Viceroy, was shown to a place below many of the Viceroy's suite. Being in the presence of the King, to whom he did not wish to show any appearance of disrespect, he did not refuse to sit down, but the next day he went to the Prefet of the Palace and complained.

The Prefet of the Palace tried at first to justify the proceeding, on the ground that it was wished to do honour to the Viceroy as the King's guest; but on Rustem Bey pointing out the slight which had thus been passed upon him as the Representative of the Sultan, the Prefet made excuses. Rustem Bey said that he ought to have a written apology, and it was agreed that one should be given if he (Rustem Bey) would write a letter of complaint.

This was done, and the apology was sent and was ample; but Rustem Bey was not yet satisfied, and he called on me to ask my advice. He represented very truly that the Prefet of the Palace was not an official in the eyes of his Government, and that Count Menabrea ought to be the person who should make excuses for a public slight to the Representative of the Sultan. He said he had that day (Sunday last) received a despatch from Aali Pasha, giving an explanation of the omission of the Italian Minister from the dinner given to their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales, of which your Lordship has doubtless already heard; that the despatch was couched in the most courteous terms, and contained a disavowal of any possible intention on the part of the Turkish Government of doing, either on the occasion referred to or on any other, anything which could be at all at variance with the desire which they felt to show the utmost consideration for the Representative of a Sovereign and a country for whom they had the highest regard, and with whom they desired to live on terms of the closest friendship.

Rustem Bey asked me if I did not think that the communication of this despatch would justify him in expecting from Count Menabrea an explanation of the incident which had occurred at the Palace dinner.

My reply was that I thought he ought, in the first instance, to have gone to Count Menabrea and not to the Prefet of the Palace; but that having taken the latter course, and having received a sufficient apology for what had occurred, I should certainly, unless for the despatch from Aali Pasha respecting M. Bertinati, have said that it would be better to let the matter rest: but that having to make a communication from his own Government in reply to a complaint of a somewhat similar nature with his own, which had been preferred by the Italian Government, and the tenour of this communication being extremely courteous and friendly, I thought that after he had acquitted himself of the instructions

he had received he might fairly put it to Count Menabrea whether (considering the unofficial position of the Prefet of the Palace as regards foreign Representatives) he would not, as the official organ of the Italian Government, express some regret for what had occurred.

The next day Rustem Bey called to tell me he had followed my advice, but that he had not found Count Menabrea in the frame of mind he had hoped and expected. He did not think the reasons alleged for the omission of M. Bertinati from the Sultan's dinner sufficient; Italy had shed her blood in defence of the Turkish Empire, and her Representative was entitled to exceptional treatment; the Representatives of all the Powers who were parties to the Treaty guaranteeing the Turkish Empire ought to have been asked.

Rustem Bey declined to discuss a point of etiquette which had been settled at Constantinople; all that he had to do was to point out that no intentional mark of disrespect was intended to the Italian Representative.

He then broached his own affair. The discussion was apparently conducted in a somewhat angry and irritated tone by Count Menabrea, who seemed to jeer at first at the bare notion of his making excuses; but the case having been argued by Rustem Bey in a very moderate and proper tone, Count Menabrea at last said that Rustem Bey had better write to him, and that he would then answer him.

Rustem Bey did write, and he showed me his letter. It was extremely courteous, and contained no expression which could possibly offend or excite Count Menabrea's susceptibility. I do not know whether his Excellency has as yet replied.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 9.

Aali Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Clarendon by Musurus Pasha, June .)

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le 9 Juin*, 1869.

RECU télégramme du 7.

Je suis très peiné de la manière dont Lord Clarendon a compris ma communication, purement confidentielle, au sujet du logement du Vice-Roi. Nous n'avons pas manqué de faire les mêmes observations partout. Veuillez expliquer tout cela à sa Seigneurie, et la remercier vivement des assurances qu'elle a bien voulu vous donner sur la nature de la réception qu'on réserve à Son Altesse.

No. 10.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir A. Paget.

(No. 98.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, June 9*, 1869.

I HAVE received your despatch No. 196, Confidential, of the 5th instant, relative to the treatment of the Turkish Ambassador on the occasion of a State dinner being given at the Palace to the Viceroy of Egypt, and I have to express to you my approval of the course taken by you with regard to this matter.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 11.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received June 14.)

(No. 624.)
My Lord, *Paris, June 13*, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship a despatch from Colonel Claremont of to-day's date, respecting the military honours paid to the Viceroy of Egypt on his arrival in France.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 11.

Colonel Claremont to Lord Lyons.

My Lord, *Paris, June 13*, 1869.

I HAVE ascertained from the several official sources concerned, that the following have been the military honours paid to the Viceroy of Egypt on his arrival in this country:—

General Pajol, one of the Emperor's aides-de-camp, and M. Raimbeaux, one of the equerries, went to meet His Highness at the French frontier; they are to be attached to his person during his stay.

General Fleury, Master of the Horse, met the Viceroy at the railway station, and conducted him in the Emperor's carriages to the Palace of the Elysée; there was no escort to accompany the carriages, nor guard of honour at the station.

General Malherbe, Master of the Household, met the Viceroy at the Palace of the Elysée; and there is a daily guard there, consisting of one captain, two subalterns, and fifty men.

At 1 o'clock His Highness, accompanied by Djemil Pasha, went in Imperial carriages to call on the Emperor at the Tuileries; the same ceremonial was observed as for the reception of Ambassadors, except that the guards only turned out, and did not line the road. The carriages went in by a side gate, not under the triumphal arch at the centre gate.

The Cent Gardes lined the staircase inside the Palace.

The Prince Imperial returned the visit yesterday, and the Emperor is to go to-day.

I have, &c.
(Signed) E. S. CLAREMONT.

No. 12.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received June 15.)

(No. 258. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, June 7*, 1869.

AALI PASHA has spoken to me, confidentially, of a report in the English newspapers that the Viceroy of Egypt would be lodged at Buckingham Palace during his visit to England, and intimated that the Sultan would probably feel hurt if his vassal were received exactly as he had been himself.

I told His Highness that I knew nothing about it except what I had seen in the newspapers, but that I thought the announcement was probably correct, for there had been a strong feeling of regret among the public in England at the Viceroy being obliged to accept the hospitality of a private nobleman upon the occasion of his last visit.

The Viceroy had very recently received the Prince and Princess of Wales with the utmost distinction, and it was only right that he should meet in England with the same hospitality that he was in the habit of offering to English travellers. If he should be lodged at the same palace as had been put at the disposal of the Sultan, it must be attributed, not to any wish to put His Highness upon the same footing as His Majesty, but to the fact of there being no other suitable palace available.

I begged Aali Pasha to be convinced that there was not the slightest disposition on the part of Her Majesty's Government to do anything implying that the Viceroy was regarded as an independent Sovereign, or in any way to ignore the rights of the Sultan.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 13.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Elliot.

(No. 205.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, June 15*, 1869.

I HAVE received your confidential despatch No. 258 of the 7th of June, reporting Aali Pasha's language respecting the Viceroy being lodged at Buckingham Palace during his approaching visit to this country; and I have to acquaint you that Her Majesty's Government entirely approve the language that you held to his Highness in reply.

The relations of the Viceroy to his Sovereign the Sultan cannot, indeed, be changed

by any mark of civility or attention that may be shown to him in foreign countries. Such attention paid to a distinguished visitor in this country, which is so much indebted to him for repeated acts of great political importance to British interests, and for the liberal hospitality which he has recently shown to the heir of the British Crown, does not imply any desire or intention to honour him as a rival of the Sultan, or to attribute to him any character which does not properly belong to him; and it would be much to be regretted if the idea were to get abroad that the Sultan viewed with dissatisfaction or jealousy the degree of hospitality which the Viceroy may receive in England.

Her Majesty's Government are convinced, indeed, that, as regards the Sultan himself, no such feeling can influence the mind of His Imperial Majesty, who can entertain no doubt, after the substantial benefit he has derived from the support of this country in his dealings with foreign Powers, of the earnest desire of the British Government to uphold his rights and to consult his interests, though they do not think they would do either one or the other by measuring out with a niggard spirit the hospitality shown to the Viceroy.

I have given to the Ottoman Ambassador at this Court the same assurances in regard to the character of the Viceroy's reception in this country; and I trust that his report of them, coupled with those which you will yourself give, will satisfy Aali Pasha that he has been needlessly alarmed in the matter.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 14.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received June 22.)

(No. 212. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Florence, June 18, 1869.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 196, Confidential, of the 5th instant, I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship that I have been informed by my Turkish colleague that he has received an answer from Count Menabrea to the note which he addressed to his Excellency respecting the arrangements at the State Dinner at the Palace, with which he is satisfied.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 15.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received June 25.)

(No. 646.)
My Lord, *Paris, June 24, 1869.*

THE Marquis de Lavalette told me this afternoon that on the one hand the Porte seemed full of suspicion and jealousy with regard to the proceedings of the Viceroy of Egypt; and on the other hand, the Viceroy appeared very much annoyed and irritated by the complaints of the Porte.

M. de Lavalette had, he said, done his best to bring both parties to a better state of feeling.

He had represented to the Porte, that if the Viceroy, in his recent journey, and in the invitations he had given to the opening of the Suez Canal, had showed a vanity which was perhaps childish, it was hardly consistent with the dignity of the Porte to make a fuss about it.

The Porte sustained no real injury, and it would do well to remember that in critical circumstances the Viceroy had shown himself a good friend and a dutiful vassal. He had sent troops to support the Sultan's authority in Crete; he had placed his forces at the Sultan's command, when hostilities with Greece appeared imminent. It was certainly not wise of the Porte to make his connection with the Ottoman Empire needlessly irksome to him, by interfering without good cause in a way to mortify his vanity.

To the Viceroy, M. de Lavalette had, he said, pointed out that his interest was to remain on good terms with the Porte. France and the other Powers of Europe would, he had said, view with very great displeasure a renewal of the quarrels between Egypt and Turkey. Such quarrels could not but be injurious to the Viceroy and his family. His Highness could not have forgotten the great trouble and the vast expense he had incurred in

obtaining the Firman changing the order of succession in favour of his son. If he broke with the Sultan, the Firman might be revoked, and the pretensions of other members of his family supported. The result, to say no more, might be that he would have to go again to Constantinople with his hands full of gold to get a new Firman. The connection with the Ottoman Empire was a great security to Egypt. The privileges granted by the Sultan were quite sufficient for all practical purposes. By keeping within the limits of them, and adopting a courteous and respectful tone in his communications with the Porte, he would best maintain his dignity and his real authority.

M. de Lavalette observed, that the effect of what he had said to the Viceroy would be very much enhanced if language in the same spirit were held to His Highness in England.

M. de Lavalette said, moreover, that he had reason to believe that the Porte was much annoyed by the Viceroy's intention to visit the Emperor of Russia. There was nothing to be said against his visiting the Sovereigns of Austria, France, and England, who were well known to be friends to Turkey; the propriety of a visit to Berlin was considered doubtful; but Russia was notoriously hostile to Turkey, and it was held that she had better have been avoided.

M. de Lavalette said, in conclusion, that whatever he might think about the visit to the Emperor of Russia, he had been careful not to hint any objection to it in speaking to the Viceroy, as by so doing he might have given Russia a not unreasonable ground of offence.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 16.

The Earl of Clarendon to Lord Lyons.

(No. 624.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, June 26, 1869.*

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 646 of the 24th instant, reporting the account given to you by M. de Lavalette of the language held by him in his communications with the Porte and with the Viceroy of Egypt respecting their mutual relations.

In thanking M. de Lavalette on my behalf for the communication which he made to you, your Excellency may inform him that, in a conversation which I had with the Viceroy on the 24th instant, I told him that he would gain nothing and lose much by becoming independent of the Porte, which was generally supposed to be his present object.

Nothing could be more positive or complete than the Viceroy's answer. He not only agreed with me, but said that his actual relations with the Sultan were just those that he was most interested in maintaining. He only wished, he said, that his internal administration of the country should not be interfered with; and he added that, in future as heretofore, he should render to the Sultan all the aid, under any circumstances, that might be required of him.

When I told the Viceroy that I should make known to Mr. Elliot what he had said about his not wishing for independence, he said he should be grateful to me for doing so, as he desired that his real sentiments should be known, and he hoped that it might lead to more confidence being placed in him, as of late he had been subjected to much annoyance by the jealous interference of the Porte in the internal administration of Egypt.

I have held to Nubar Pasha the same language as to the Viceroy, and he entirely agreed that the present state of relations towards the Porte was advantageous to Egypt, and a protection against Europe.

Nubar Pasha, like the Viceroy, complained of the petty annoyances to which the jealousy and suspicion of the Porte subjected the Egyptian Government.

You will further state to M. de Lavalette that Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople will be instructed, in making known to the Porte the sentiments of the Viceroy, to recommend that His Highness should meet with reciprocal goodwill on the part of the Porte.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 17.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Elliot.

(No. 220.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, June 26, 1869.*

I TRANSMIT to your Excellency herewith a copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Lord Lyons,* giving an account of conversations which I have held with the Viceroy of Egypt and with Nubar Pasha, respecting the relations between Egypt and the Porte.

Your Excellency will take the first opportunity to make known to Aali Pasha the sentiments expressed by the Viceroy on the subject of his position with regard to the Sultan, and you will at the same time, in the name of Her Majesty's Government recommend that His Highness should meet with reciprocal goodwill on the part of the Porte.

I am, &c.

(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 18.

Aali Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Clarendon by Musurus Pasha, June 27.)

(Confidentielle.)

M. l'Ambassadeur, *Constantinople, le 17 Juin, 1869.*

LE voyage du Khidiv d'Egypte en Europe et le but que la rumeur publique assigne à ce voyage nous obligent à avoir l'œil ouvert sur la conduite de Son Altesse, et à vous mettre à même de rétablir la vérité dès que vous vous apercevrez que certaines erreurs habilement exploitées pourraient dénaturer la vraie position et la nature ou la portée des privilèges du Pacha.

A cet effet, je crois devoir vous rappeler que le seul Acte constitutif qui a fondé l'état de choses actuel en Egypte est le Firman de 1256. Or, que dit ce Firman? Il accorde à la famille de Mouhammed Ali Pacha le Gouvernement héréditaire de l'Egypte; il fixe les limites de ses immunités administratives; il assimile les Gouverneurs d'Égypte sous tous les autres points aux Gouverneurs-Généraux des autres provinces de l'Empire; et il déclare d'une manière très explicite que toute infraction aux conditions y contenues impliquerait la déchéance immédiate. Ainsi, dans notre hiérarchie, la position marquée aux Pachas d'Egypte par le Firman en question ne diffère en aucune manière des autres Vézirs de l'Empire. Par un effet de pure munificence du Sultan, l'ordre de succession établi par le dit Firman a subi une modification notable; c'est la descendance directe d'Ismaïl Pacha qui se trouve appelée maintenant à la succession. Mais le Firman Impérial qui contient et consacre ce changement maintient dans leur force et détails toutes les autres dispositions de l'Acte primitif.

Si Mouhammed Ali et ses successeurs (excepté Ibrahim Pacha) ont obtenu le rang de Grand Vézir, et si Ismaïl Pacha a reçu plus tard le titre de Khidiv, cela n'a été qu'une faveur qui n'a modifié en rien les conditions fondamentales. Au contraire, cette faveur elle-même vient à l'appui de ce que nous avançons.

En conséquence, il nous est impossible de rester indifférens devant les assertions de tous les journaux de l'Europe et en présence de certains indices qui corroborent ces assertions sur les velléités de Son Altesse de nouer des relations diplomatiques avec les Puissances étrangères, de conclure des Traités avec elles, de négocier une Convention internationale relativement à la neutralisation du Canal de Suez. Loin de nous la pensée de soulever une question Egyptienne au moment où nous nous efforçons de fournir un important contingent de modération et de bon-vouloir à l'œuvre laborieuse de la conservation de la paix. Mais on voudra bien convenir que le devoir le plus élémentaire, c'est-à-dire, celui de notre propre conservation, ne nous permet pas de nous taire quand le Vice-Roi parle sur ce ton. Sa Majesté Impériale ne saurait ne pas protester contre la conduite d'un sujet qui aurait méconnu ses obligations à ce point. Aussi, le Gouvernement Impérial a-t-il vu avec reconnaissance que dans toutes les Cours où Ismaïl Pacha a été, il a reçu un accueil très distingué, mais marquant sa position de premier sujet du Sultan.

Nous espérons que la disposition bien accentuée des grandes Puissances de ne pas suivre Son Altesse dans ces erremens, disposition qu'elle vient de constater par elle-même, la rendra désormais plus circonspecte et moins rebelle aux devoirs qui lui incombent.

* No. 16.

Vous aurez à vous énoncer dans ce sens toutes les fois que la nécessité s'en présentera.

Veuillez, &c.

(Signé) AALI.

P.S.—Par le Firman conférant à Ismaïl Pacha le titre de Khidiv, Sa Majesté Impériale avait daigné lui accorder aussi quelque extension de pouvoir, telle que la confection de lois d'administration intérieure et la conclusion avec les Agents étrangers de simples arrangements sur des affaires de douane, de police, de transit, et de poste; mais ces concessions ne modifient en rien les droits souverains de Sa Majesté Impériale, ni la sujétion absolue des Gouverneurs d'Egypte. D'ailleurs, par la lecture de ce Firman, qui vous a été envoyé par la dépêche du 12 Juin, 1867, vous verrez qu'il est expressément dit que ces lois d'administration intérieure doivent toujours être basées sur les lois générales de l'Empire, et que les arrangements en question ne doivent jamais revêtir la forme d'actes internationaux, ni se trouver sous aucun rapport en contradiction avec les droits souverains de Sa Majesté Impériale, faute de quoi ils seraient considérés comme nuls et non avenus: de plus, le Gouvernement Central y promet, pendant la négociation des Traités, qu'il se réserve de prendre en considération les renseignements et les avis qui lui seront transmis par l'Administration de l'Egypte sur les intérêts et les exigences du commerce de cette province.

No. 19.

Aali Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Clarendon by Musurus Pasha, June 27.)

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le 21 Juin, 1869.*

REÇU télégramme du 17.

Veuillez exprimer à Lord Clarendon les vifs remercîments de la Sublime Porte pour les dispositions que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique a bien voulu prendre pour la réception du Vice-Roi à Londres.

No. 20.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Elliot.

(No. 221.

Sir, *Foreign Office, June 28, 1869.*

I TRANSMIT, for your Excellency's information, the accompanying copy of a despatch addressed by Aali Pasha to the Turkish Ambassador at this Court,* on the subject of the position of the Viceroy of Egypt and his visit to Europe.

I told Musurus Pasha yesterday, on his placing the document in my hands, that I had had more than one conversation with the Viceroy, and that they led me to believe the suspicions of the Porte with respect to His Highness' intentions were unfounded. His Highness seemed anxious to promote administrative improvements in Egypt, and by no means to desire any change in his relations with the Porte.

I am, &c.

(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 21.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received July 3.)

(No. 679.)

My Lord, *Paris, July 2, 1869.*

YESTERDAY, in obedience to the instruction contained in your Lordship's despatch No. 624 of the 26th ultimo, I thanked the Marquis de Lavalette, in your Lordship's name, for communicating to me the language he had held to the Porte and to the Viceroy of Egypt, and I made him acquainted with the substance of the conversation which your Lordship had had with the Viceroy on the 24th ultimo. I added that Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople would be instructed to make the sentiments of the Viceroy known to the Porte, and would be desired at the same time to recommend that His Highness should meet with reciprocal goodwill on the part of the Ottoman Government.

* No. 16.

M. de Lavalette expressed his satisfaction at finding the views and language of Her Majesty's Government on this and other Eastern questions to be so entirely in accordance with those of the Government of the Emperor.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 22.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received July 9.)

(No. 279. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, June 26, 1869.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose the copy of a confidential despatch addressed by Aali Pasha to some of the Porte's Representatives at other Courts upon the present attitude of the Viceroy of Egypt, in which your Lordship will find a full confirmation of the irritation which I had reported as being entertained here towards His Highness.

I had yesterday an opportunity, of which I availed myself, of remarking to Aali Pasha that the Sultan's Government seemed to be showing what appeared to me an exaggerated susceptibility upon this matter, and to be too willing to assume as facts the newspaper accounts of the Viceroy's proceedings, and that I had observed in the circular despatch that he relied upon these accounts for the designs attributed to His Highness with regard to entering into direct diplomatic relations with foreign Governments for concluding an international Convention for the neutralization of the Suez Canal. The Grand Vizier replied that although he had alluded to the newspaper reports, he had not taken his information exclusively from them, but had, on the contrary, obtained it also from other sources, and that the Viceroy's wish to establish his independence was becoming too clear to be any longer ignored.

I had, as it turned out, rather unfortunately timed my attempt to moderate the irritation against the Viceroy; for Aali Pasha mentioned to me a fresh incident, which, however trifling in itself, had just contributed to increase it.

The want of a properly-organized postal establishment at Constantinople has long led to foreign Governments keeping their own Post-offices, and the Egyptian Government had had one likewise, over which there was a board with the words "Poste Vice-Royale d'Egypte."

It having been reported to the Grand Vizier that this board had been removed and replaced by one in which the former designation was changed to "Poste Royale d'Egypte," His Highness sent to demand an explanation of the change, and to intimate that if the inscription was not at once removed, it would be pulled down the police, accompanying the notice by an order for the removal of any similar ones that might have been put up in Egypt.

The anger caused by this incident was not diminished by the explanation of the Egyptian Post-office authorities, who excused themselves by saying that the board had been sent to them direct from Egypt for erection over the office.

In Aali Pasha's circular, the position of the Viceroy is laid down from the Turkish point of view, and may, theoretically perhaps, be correctly defined as that of any other Pasha of a province, with the exception of the rank being hereditary and of the extension of powers granted by the Firman of 1867; but it is very evident that from the moment the hereditary rights were conceded, the position of the Viceroy could no longer be in practice compared to that of the other Turkish Governors.

The Ottoman Government is quite aware of this, but they are not prepared to acquiesce in the constantly increasing want of deference to the Sultan's authority which is being exhibited by His Highness, and they dread any encouragement being given to him by foreign Governments; while the Sultan himself is deeply offended that his vassal should, without consulting him, have gone to invite the different Sovereigns of Europe to visit a part of His Majesty's own dominions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 22.

Aali Pasha to the Representatives of the Sublime Porte abroad, June 17, 1869.

(See No. 18.)

No. 23.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received July 9.)

(No. 280.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, June 28, 1869.*

YOUR Lordship's despatch No. 205 of the 15th instant having reached me after the conversation with Aali Pasha respecting the Viceroy of Egypt, reported in my despatch No. 279, I directed Mr. Pisani to go to His Highness and to read it to him.

Your Lordship will find, inclosed herewith, Mr. Pisani's report of his interview with the Grand Vizier in execution of the instruction, when His Highness repeated his conviction that the Viceroy was aiming at establishing his independence.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 23.

Mr. E. Pisani to Mr. Elliot.

Sir, *Therapia, June 26, 1869.*

IN pursuance of your Excellency's verbal instruction I read and explained, word for word, to Aali Pasha the Earl of Clarendon's despatch No. 205 of the 15th instant, respecting the approaching visit of the Viceroy to England.

His Highness expressed thanks for the communication of that despatch, and said that the Sultan does not in the least view with dissatisfaction or jealousy the degree of hospitality which the Viceroy or any of His Imperial Majesty's functionaries may receive in England or elsewhere. There remains no doubt, according to the information which had reached the Porte, that the object the Viceroy has in view in visiting Europe was to feel his way for the accomplishment of his long-cherished scheme of declaring himself independent, and that was the reason why the Porte appeared alarmed on hearing of the attention to be paid to him.

Having found no encouragement abroad, the Khedive thought better of it, and is now endeavouring to give the lie to the rumours spread about on his account; but it is not the less true that he is at work to obtain his independence. By what right and on what pretext, said His Highness, can he, in defiance of all Treaties and international Agreements, demand the independence of a country which he holds in virtue of a Firman from his Sovereign? The matter, added His Highness, is of high moment and vital importance to the Porte, and he thinks, therefore, that it ought to be taken into serious and mature consideration before it be too late.

I have, &c.
(Signed) E. PISANI.

No. 24.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received July 9.)

(No. 287.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, June 30, 1869.*

THE accompanying semi-official publication of documents relating to the position assigned to the Viceroy of Egypt has been issued within the last day or two.

Its object is to show that the maintenance of the privileges granted to the Viceroy were always made dependent upon his faithful observance of the conditions attached to them.

In the Firman of 1841, repeated in the Iradé of 1866, it is stated that the violation of any one of those conditions would be followed by the revocation of the hereditary Government; and the Viceroy is enjoined to make his reports to and demand his orders from the Porte, upon affairs of importance concerning the country intrusted to his care.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 24.

Pamphlet entitled "L'Egypte d'après les Traités de 1840–41:" par N. Bordeaux, Directeur du Journal "La Turquie."

No. 25.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received July 9.)

(No. 702. Confidential.)
Paris, July 8, 1869.

My Lord,

THE Marquis de Lavalette told me this afternoon that he saw with great regret, from despatches which he had just received from Constantinople, that the Porte was extremely angry with the Viceroy of Egypt.

On the other hand, he had heard from Nubar Pasha that the Viceroy had given up his intention of going to Constantinople to pay his respects to the Sultan, as he feared that he should be very ill-received.

M. de Lavalette observed that he thought it was of great importance to prevent the irritation which prevailed on both sides degenerating into a quarrel. He should, he said, state very plainly to both parties that the French Government would view with extreme regret and displeasure any breach between them.

He had, indeed, already desired M. Bourée, the French Ambassador at Constantinople, to point out to the Grand Vizier that the result of the recent Conference at Paris had been to restore tranquillity throughout the Ottoman Empire; that the service thus rendered to the Porte had been immense; and that it would be a very bad return for it if the Porte, by misplaced punctiliousness, brought about a quarrel with its Mahometan vassal, and allowed the quiet of the East to be again disturbed.

M. Bourée was also to make the Grand Vizier feel the awkwardness which would attend the Empress's visit to the Sultan, if Her Majesty should find a quarrel existing between the Porte and the Viceroy. In short, M. Bourée was to make it plain that such a quarrel would be extremely disagreeable to France, and could not but be very injurious to the Porte.

M. de Lavalette said that he had spoken very plainly to Nubar Pasha on the subject, and that he should not be less explicit with the Viceroy himself. On the contrary, he should tell His Highness distinctly that he must not pretend to deal with the Sultan as an equal. He should say that after having visited the principal Sovereigns of Europe, His Highness was bound to pay his respects to his own Sovereign, and that France would not countenance him in neglecting this duty. He should point out to the Viceroy the embarrassment which would arise respecting the Empress' journey, if His Highness should not place his relations with the Sultan on a proper footing before it took place. He had already dwelt with the Viceroy upon the general considerations which made it to be no less His Highness' interest than his duty to maintain the connection between Egypt and Turkey, and to keep on the best terms with the Porte; and he should not fail to speak again to His Highness in the same sense.

M. de Lavalette said, in conclusion, that he thought very great advantage would ensue if your Lordship should repeat the wise counsels you had given both to the Porte and to the Viceroy, and should use similar language to that employed by him on behalf of the Government of the Emperor.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 26.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received July 10.)

(No. 710.)
Paris, July 9, 1869.

My Lord,

THE Viceroy of Egypt came to call upon me this afternoon. His Highness appeared to be very much annoyed by what he considered to be the ill-will manifested towards him at Constantinople. He said that the Porte had recently interfered in the internal administration of Egypt: in the first place, by conferring military rank on Sir Samuel Baker without consulting the Egyptian Government, in whose service Sir Samuel was; and again by promoting to high rank, and (if I understood His Highness rightly) removing from the

Egyptian service, two employés. The Porte had also, he said, shown its ill-will by encouraging, if not ordering, the publication of articles in its newspapers calling for his deposition, and by circulating imperfect collections of documents calculated to convey erroneous notions of his rights and privileges.

The Viceroy proceeded to say that he was at a loss to comprehend the cause of the displeasure of the Porte. As for his present journey, invitations to some of the Courts had reached him last year through the hands of the Grand Vizier himself; and he made the Grand Vizier fully acquainted with his intentions, and had heard no objection from him. The stories about his having shown signs of aiming at independence, and about his treating directly with foreign Powers respecting the neutralization of the canal, were utterly groundless. I do not recollect that His Highness said anything about his invitations to foreign Sovereigns and Princes to come to the opening of the Suez Canal, which, I believe, count among the grievances alleged by the Porte.

The Viceroy said that he had shown in critical circumstances his loyalty and devotion to the Sultan, and that he was ready to do so again, but that he feared that, while the present unkind feeling existed at Constantinople, he should do more harm than good by going there.

I observed to His Highness that, after paying visits to so many foreign Courts, it would seem only dutiful and proper that he should pay his respects to his own Sovereign. To neglect this act of courtesy would be to strengthen the suspicions which he believed to exist at the Porte. Scarcely anything, I said, could be more disadvantageous to His Highness himself, or more distressing to the Governments friendly to both, than an interruption of cordial friendship between Egypt and the Porte. It would, I thought, be a fatal error for him to allow the present uncomfortable feeling to increase until it produced a quarrel. I confessed that, so far, there did not appear to me to be anything very serious in the complaints on either side; and I urged that, by going to Constantinople, and giving frank explanations in person, the Viceroy would probably be able to dispel altogether the cloud which overshadowed his relations with the Porte.

So far as I could judge from His Highness' own language, and from that of Nubar Pasha, who came in the morning to announce his visit, the Viceroy would be far from unwilling to go to Constantinople, if he were assured that he would be as well received as on former occasions, and that no attempt would be made to curtail his privileges or to interfere with the internal administration of Egypt.

If he goes to Constantinople he must, according to the engagements he has made, pay, on his way, a visit to the Emperor of Russia in the Crimea. If, however, he determine not to go to Constantinople, he will, in all probability, excuse himself also from going to the Crimea, and return from France direct to Egypt. He sets out to-morrow night for the Eaux Bonnes, and intends to remain there till the end of this month, or a little longer.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 27.

The Earl of Clarendon to Lord Lyons.

(No. 669. Confidential.)
Foreign Office, July 10, 1869.

My Lord,

I HAVE received your confidential despatch No. 702 of the 8th instant, giving a report of a conversation with M. de Lavalette on the feelings exhibited by the Porte and by the Viceroy of Egypt towards each other; and I have to acquaint your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government entirely concur in the language which M. de Lavalette appears to have held to both parties, and will instruct Mr. Elliot to hold corresponding language to the Turkish Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 28.

The Earl of Clarendon to Lord Lyons.

(No. 670.)
My Lord,

Foreign Office, July 10, 1869.

I HAVE received your despatch No. 710 of the 9th instant, reporting what had passed in an interview which you had had with the Viceroy of Egypt, in which His Highness complained of the ill-will manifested towards him by the Porte; and I have to acquaint your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government entirely approve the language that you held to His Highness on that occasion.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 29.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Elliot.

(No. 228. Confidential.)
Sir,

Foreign Office, July 12, 1869.

I TRANSMIT to you herewith, a copy of a despatch from Lord Lyons,* giving an account of the language which M. de Lavalette stated to him that he had held to Nubar Pasha, and had instructed M. Bourée to hold at Constantinople, respecting the unsatisfactory state of feeling which appeared to prevail between the Porte and the Pasha of Egypt.

I have informed Lord Lyons that Her Majesty's Government entirely concurred with M. de Lavalette, and would send instructions to you to the same effect.

I have accordingly to instruct your Excellency to express to Aali Pasha the earnest hope of Her Majesty's Government that no open misunderstanding will arise between the Porte and the Viceroy.

You will inform Aali Pasha that the Viceroy's language during his stay in this country respecting his relations with the Porte was satisfactory; and he assured Musurus Pasha that before he returned to Egypt he meant to pay his respects to the Sultan.

Your Excellency will see, from Lord Lyons' further despatch,† of which I inclose a copy, that the Viceroy has complained to him of the unfriendly conduct of the Porte towards His Highness.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 30.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received July 16.)

(No. 742.)
My Lord,

Paris, July 15, 1869.

THE Marquis de Lavalette read to me this afternoon a despatch which he received to-day from M. Bourée, the French Ambassador at Constantinople. It described the irritation which prevailed at Constantinople, both in the Palace and at the Porte against the Viceroy of Egypt. It stated that this irritation was the more dangerous, inasmuch as the Sultan and the Grand Vizier believed that they had only to say the word to bring about the deposition of Ismail Pasha from the Vice-royalty. The despatch reported the efforts made by M. Bourée, in obedience to M. de Lavalette's instructions, to appease this angry feeling, and stated that if it was desired to avoid an Egyptian question, it would be advisable that very decided language should be held to the Ottoman Representatives at the great Courts of Europe.

M. Bourée observed in the despatch that all sorts of accusations were brought against the Viceroy by two Pashas who had left His Highness' service and been promoted to the high rank of Mushir by the Sultan.

These are no doubt the two persons mentioned to me by the Viceroy in the conversation of which I had the honour to make a Report to your Lordship in my despatch No. 710 of the 9th instant.

It appeared that when M. Bourée wrote, it was taken for granted at Constantinople that the Viceroy would come there on his way back to Egypt to pay his respects to the Sultan. M. de Lavalette observed, however, that this was, we knew, far from certain. In

* No. 23.

† No. 26.

fact, Nubar Pasha had, he said, represented that the Viceroy was afraid to go to Constantinople, lest he should be ill received, and lest advantage should be taken of his presence there to extort concessions or in some way injure his position. Nubar Pasha had, however, seemed to to think it very desirable that the Viceroy should not omit a visit to the Sultan, and, indeed, his object had appeared to be to induce the French Government to use its influence to obtain from the Porte some invitation to the Viceroy to come to Constantinople, or at all events some intimation that His Highness would be welcome. This was, it appeared, the substance of language which had been held by Nubar Pasha to M. de St. Ferriol, the Chef de Cabinet, who had received him in M. de Lavalette's absence.

Nubar Pasha called on me yesterday, and spoke in exactly the same sense, urging that the influence of Her Majesty's Government should also be used to obtain from the Sultan some assurance to the Viceroy that he would be kindly received at Constantinople.

The Viceroy himself observed pointedly to me, when I saw him on the 9th instant, that on every occasion on which he had been to Constantinople, he had received an intimation that the Sultan had desired to see him, but that no such intimation had been given to him now.

Nubar Pasha repeated this to me, and he appears to have mentioned it to M. de St. Ferriol also.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 31.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Elliot.

(No. 232.)
Sir,

Foreign Office, July 20, 1869.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 228 of the 12th instant, I transmit, for your Excellency's information, a copy of a further despatch from Lord Lyons* upon the subject of the irritation which prevails at Constantinople against the Viceroy of Egypt, as described in a despatch which the Marquis de Lavalette read to him from M. Bourée.

You will perceive from Lord Lyons' despatch that Nubar Pasha was desirous that the Porte should invite the Viceroy to come to Constantinople, or at least give some intimation that he would be kindly received on arriving there; and you will, therefore, take an early opportunity of impressing upon Aali Pasha how highly important it is for the interest and well-being of Turkey to avoid an open rupture with the Viceroy; and you will suggest on the part of Her Majesty's Government that an invitation to Constantinople should be sent to the Viceroy, accompanied by friendly assurances that His Highness' presence there would be gratifying to the Sultan.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 32.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received July 21.)

(Telegraphic.)

Constantinople, July 21, 1869, 5 P.M.

THERE is a report that the Viceroy of Egypt does not intend to come to Constantinople. If His Highness, after paying a visit to the Emperor of Russia in the Crimea, makes a long round for the purpose of avoiding his own Sovereign, the effect here will be very bad. Such a proceeding will be looked upon by the Porte as proof of a wish to push matters to extremities.

No. 33.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received July 23.)

(No. 293.)
My Lord,

Constantinople, July 12, 1869.

THE Turkish Government express themselves as entirely satisfied with the explanations given by the Italian Government with respect to the position that had been

* No. 30.

assigned to their Minister at Florence, on the occasion of the dinner given by King Victor Emmanuel to the Viceroy of Egypt, as reported by Sir Augustus Paget, in his despatches to your Lordship No. 196 and No. 212 of the 5th and 18th of June.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 34.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received July 23.)

(No. 295. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, July 9, 1869.*

FROM various circumstances which have come to my knowledge, I can hardly doubt that a party, not without influence here, is endeavouring to avail itself of the irritation prevailing in the minds of the Sultan and the Grand Vizier against the Viceroy of Egypt, not only to obtain the revocation of the Firman, by which the succession was granted to His Highness' son, but to deprive him altogether of his Government, and to give it to Mustapha Fazyl Pasha, his natural heir according to the regular Turkish mode of succession, by which the present Viceroy himself inherited it.

I have no reason to suppose that the idea is at present entertained by the Grand Vizier, whose habitual caution makes it improbable that he would hastily adopt any step of such magnitude; but I believe that any decided exhibition of insubordination on the part of the Viceroy, or of additional want of deference towards the Sultan, might induce him to take it into serious consideration.

Complaints have been pouring in from Egypt of the abuses of the Viceroy's Administration, and officers high in his employment have arrived here, declaring that they will not return and place themselves again in his power. The misery of the country is represented as extreme, the people being mercilessly ground down to satisfy the boundless extravagance of the Viceroy, and to enable him, at the expense of his subjects, to entertain foreign travellers with a magnificent hospitality, which they repay when they return to their own countries by lauding the Ruler from whom they had received them.

It is asked by many Turks whether the Sultan is bound to stand by and see one of the most important provinces of the Empire brought to ruin without making an effort to save it.

The Sultan, it is said, is not the Suzerain, but the Sovereign of Egypt, and the Viceroy is not a vassal, but a subject of His Majesty, although the Government of Egypt had been made hereditary in his family. The European Governments are not regarded as having the smallest right to interfere in any arrangements the Sultan might choose to make with regard to Egypt, so long as faith was kept with them by continuing its Government in the hands of the descendants of Mehemet Ali.

It is asserted that the deposition of the Viceroy and the appointment of his brother Mustapha Fazyl would not only pass without opposition in Egypt, but would be hailed with almost universal satisfaction.

It is scarcely necessary for me to state that when such language is held in my presence, I insist that the subject is not to be treated in an easy off-hand manner, and that the European Governments would certainly not view with indifference any step being taken that would be likely to lead to an Egyptian question. A Firman, scarcely two years old, had conferred upon the Viceroy an administrative independence within his Government, which could not be recalled without laying the Sultan open to an accusation of a want of good faith, unless more specific charges than any of which I was aware could be established against His Highness.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 35.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received July 23.)

(No. 297. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, July 13, 1869.*

THE accompanying copy of a despatch from the Ottoman Minister at Berlin, reporting a conversation with M. de Thile respecting the Viceroy of Egypt, has been communicated to me in strict confidence.

It is considered by the Turkish Government as conclusively showing that the Khedive, notwithstanding his denials, had been endeavouring to enter into negotiations respecting the neutralization of the Suez Canal, and with regard to the Capitulations, which proceeding is regarded as an attack upon the sovereign rights of the Sultan.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 35.

Aristarchi Bey to Aali Pasha.

Monseigneur, *Berlin, le 12 Juin, 1869.*

Je viens d'annoncer à votre Altesse par la voie télégraphique le départ du Khedive d'Egypte pour Paris. Il portait notre habit noir sans aucune décoration; je n'ai pas manqué d'imiter cet exemple de bon goût.

De la gare, où j'avais accompagné Son Altesse, je me suis rendu au Ministère des Affaires Etrangères. C'est à cette occasion que j'ai rempli l'ordre consigné dans le télégramme de votre Altesse. Je me suis permis en même temps d'interpeller M. de Thile sur l'objet et le résultat de la visite Egyptienne à la Cour de Prusse.

Le Sous-Secrétaire d'Etat m'a déclaré qu'il n'y avait eu aucune négociation. Encore n'a-t-il pas hésité à m'affirmer que le Vice-Roi et Nubar Pasha ont eu, le dernier jour, des conversations avec le Comte de Bismarck au sujet de l'ouverture et de la neutralisation du Canal de Suez, ainsi que par rapport aux Capitulations; que son Excellence s'était bien gardée de reprendre l'initiative, et qu'elle avait tenu des propos très vagues quant aux deux derniers points.

Prenant acte de cette communication j'ai répété à M. de Thile les observations que j'avais faites au Ministre sur ces différentes questions dans nos récentes rencontres à la Cour.

Je dois présumer, dis-je, mais je ne le sais pas, que le Khédive a invité, avec l'autorisation de son Souverain, Sa Majesté le Roi. Sans cette permission, me paraîtrait inadmissible [*sic*]. Du reste, le Roi a bien voulu me dire qu'il ne pouvait y penser, et M. de Bismarck m'a confirmé les dispositions de Sa Majesté.

Ainsi, répliqua M. de Thile en souriant, je n'ai pas besoin de vous rassurer là-dessus.

Quant à la neutralisation du Canal, continuai-je, je vous assure franchement que je ne le saisis pas. Il me semble que l'application, s'il y avait lieu, d'une semblable mesure en Egypte ne saurait s'effectuer que par un Traité international. Et en tout cas, le droit de conclure des Traités incombe exclusivement à Sa Majesté le Sultan. La question des Capitulations se trouve sur un terrain analogue, et vous connaissez l'opinion de la Sublime Porte à ce sujet.

Le Sous-Secrétaire d'Etat m'assura que le Comte de Bismarck partageait cette manière de voir. Aussi, aurait-il averti le Vice-Roi qu'il accueillerait avec intérêt toute proposition ayant trait aux Capitulations, mais que l'intérêt des commerçants Allemands pèserait dans la balance de son jugement.

Dans le cours de cet entretien, qui portait le cachet d'une confiance réciproque, M. de Thile me fit part que le Vice-Roi avait aussi parlé de la colonisation et de canalisation de la Haute Egypte. Son Altesse s'occuperait sérieusement de l'examen de ce dernier projet, dont la réalisation coûterait 100,000,000 de francs, rentables en trois ans. Après les tristes expériences faites en Amérique et au Brésil, M. de Bismarck n'appuyerait certainement pas la colonisation de l'Egypte par des Allemands. Pour ce qui concernait la canalisation, cette œuvre, digne des Pharaons, il en laissait volontiers au Vice-Roi tous les frais et tous les profits.

Au moment de nous séparer, M. de Thile a bien voulu me confier que d'après une lettre particulière du Baron Werther, Son Altesse s'est vivement plaint à Vienne des articles du journal "La Turquie," et que Nubar Pacha, signalant ces attaques à son ami König, ancien Consul de Prusse à Alexandrie, avait fièrement fait mirer à ses yeux le tribut et les troupes d'Egypte.

Je fit observer que Nubar Pasha ne pouvait cependant pas ignorer que le Khedive devait ses recettes et ses forces au prestige du nom du Sultan.

Je vous prie, &c.
(Signed) ARISTARCHI.

No. 36.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received July 23.)

(Telegraphic.) *Paris, July 23, 1869, 4 p.m.*

NUBAR PASHA informs me that the Viceroy embarks to-night at Toulon, and returns direct to Egypt.

No. 37.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received July 24.)

(No. 797.)

My Lord, *Paris, July 23, 1869.*

NUBAR PASHA called upon me this morning, and told me that he had just arrived from the Eaux-Bonnes, where he had taken leave of the Viceroy, who had determined to return at once to Egypt, and would embark this evening at Toulon for Alexandria.

It was, Nubar Pasha said, quite impossible for the Viceroy to go to Constantinople while the ill-will against him, which prevailed in high quarters there, continued to exist. Officers who had abandoned his service had been received with high favour at the Porte, and had been encouraged to bring all sorts of accusations against him. High functionaries of the Porte spoke not only of withdrawing the Firman of 1866, but even of deposing him.

The Viceroy did not, indeed, apprehend that he should be arrested, or that any personal violence would be offered him at Constantinople, but means might be taken of attacking his prestige, which would have a very injurious effect on his position in Egypt: for instance, the officers who had left his service might be prompted to bring charges against him in the Court of the Cheik-ul-Islam, and the Porte might urge him to clear himself of such charges. Now the very notion that it was possible that the Khedive could be brought to trial would lower him in the eyes of the Egyptians to a degree which might be even dangerous to the Governor of an Eastern population. In short, the intelligence which the Viceroy had received from Constantinople had convinced him that it would be unwise of him to go thither, and that, in fact, his only prudent course was to return as soon as possible to his own country.

In conclusion, Nubar Pasha said that he himself had, as I knew, been very anxious that the Viceroy should go to pay his respects to the Sultan, but that the feeling at Constantinople was evidently so bad now that he had felt unable, as a faithful counsellor, to advise His Highness to encounter it.

I said to Nubar Pasha that the intelligence he gave me caused me very great pain. The state of feeling he described as existing between the Viceroy and the Porte was lamentable, and was, in my opinion, dangerous to both. Could nothing be done to bring about a better state of things? Had the Viceroy done all in his power to set himself right in the eyes of the Porte?

Nubar Pasha said that a visit from the Viceroy to Constantinople at the present moment could only have the effect of bringing on a crisis in the relations between His Highness and the Porte. He thought that the most prudent course for His Highness would be to remain as quiet as possible in his own country; to occupy himself with internal reforms and improvements, and thus to give time for irritation to subside at Constantinople.

I observed that if this line of conduct was intended to succeed, it behoved the Viceroy to be particularly careful to manifest due respect and deference to the Sultan, and to avoid, even in small matters, the appearances which His Highness now knew were misinterpreted at the Porte, as indicating an assumption of the position of an independent Sovereign, or which, at all events, gave, reasonably or unreasonably, offence at Constantinople.

Nubar Pasha told me that, as a matter of course, the Viceroy had given up his visit to the Emperor of Russia in the Crimea.

I had, in fact, the honour to report to your Lordship, in my despatch No. 710 of the 9th instant, that if the Viceroy determined not to go to Constantinople, he would in all probability excuse himself also from going to the Crimea, and would return from France direct to Egypt.

As your Lordship's messenger for Constantinople passes through Paris to-day, I send a copy of this despatch, confidentially, to Mr. Elliot by him.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 38.

The Earl of Clarendon to Lord Lyons.

(No. 714.)

My Lord, *Foreign Office, July 24, 1869.*

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 779 of the 23rd instant, and I approve of the language which your Excellency has held to Nubar Pasha in regard to the relations at present existing between the Sultan and the Viceroy of Egypt as therein reported.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 39.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Elliot.

(No. 241. Confidential.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, July 26, 1869.*

I HAVE to acquaint your Excellency that I approve the language which you held, as reported in your despatch No. 295, Confidential, of the 9th instant, in regard to the projects to displace the present Viceroy of Egypt, and to appoint his brother Mustapha Fazyl to succeed him; and I have to instruct you to point out, in a suitable manner, to the Grand Vizier the extreme imprudence of any encouragement being given on the part of the Porte to proceedings which would inevitably raise questions in which those Powers whose harmonious action has lately been so beneficial to Turkey would no longer find themselves in accord.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

P.S.—I have spoken in the sense of this despatch to the Turkish Ambassador.

No. 40.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received July 28.)

(No. 790.)

My Lord, *Paris, July 27, 1869.*

THE Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne spoke to me yesterday of the sudden departure of the Khedive for Egypt. It appeared that Nubar Pasha had made to the Prince a communication similar to that which he made to me on the 23rd instant, as I have the honour to report to your Lordship in my despatch No. 779 of that day.

The Prince proceeded to tell me that the Austrian Ambassador had informed him that Count de Beust had written a very strong despatch to Constantinople, desiring the Porte to be informed that it must expect no countenance or support from the European Powers if it pursued its causeless quarrel with the Khedive.

The Prince went on to say that he had not used such strong language as Count de Beust, but that he had desired the French Ambassador at Constantinople to inform the Porte that a breach with the Khedive would be viewed with regret and displeasure by the Government of the Emperor. He was, he said, anxious to know what instructions your Lordship had sent to Her Majesty's Ambassador, as it would be very desirable that the communications of the two Governments to the Porte should be pitched in the same key.

I told the Prince that I was not acquainted with the exact terms of your Lordship's instructions to Mr. Elliot, but that I knew you had written to him strongly to deprecate a rupture between the Porte and the Khedive.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 41.

The Earl of Clarendon to Lord Lyons.

(No. 726.)

My Lord, *Foreign Office, July 28, 1869.*

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 790 of the 27th instant, reporting your conversation with Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne respecting the unsatisfactory relations at this moment existing between the Viceroy and the Sultan.

I inclose, for your Excellency's information, and in order that you may communicate their substance to the Prince, copies of the instructions which I have addressed to Mr. Elliot on this subject.*

I am, &c.

(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 42.

Lord Bloomfield to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received July 30.)

(No. 314.)

My Lord, *Vienna, July 26, 1869.*

THE Austrian Government have received intelligence from Baron Prokesch which has caused anxiety respecting the policy which the Turkish Government is said to be bent on pursuing towards the Viceroy of Egypt. His Excellency appears to have reported the discovery of intrigues on the part of the Egyptian Government, indicating an amount of ill-will to the Sovereign Power which the Turkish Government were resolved to resent in some way or other.

Count Beust mentioned to me to-day that it might be possible the fears of the Porte were exaggerated, but he should communicate on the subject with Paris and London, and would write by to-morrow's messenger to Count Apponyi.

I told Count Beust that I was quite uninformed of what might be passing between the Sultan and the Viceroy at this moment, except what I picked up in the newspapers, but I was sure Her Majesty's Government would always desire to give such advice as might be likely to restore harmony between the Sultan and the Viceroy.

I have, &c.

(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 43.

The Earl of Clarendon to Lord Bloomfield.

(No. 154. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Foreign Office, July 30, 1869.*

I HAVE received and laid before the Queen your Excellency's despatch No. 314 of the 26th instant, reporting a conversation you have had with Count Beust on the unsatisfactory state of feeling existing between the Porte and the Viceroy of Egypt. For your Excellency's information on this subject I inclose herewith, confidentially, copies of two instructions which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople,† and of the tenor of which I have this day informed Count Apponyi.

I transmit also, for your own information only, copies of the despatches from Lord Lyons and Mr. Elliot on which these instructions are founded.‡

I am, &c.

(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 44.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received July 31.)

(No. 804.)

My Lord, *Paris, July 30, 1869.*

THIS afternoon, in execution of the commands conveyed to me by your Lordship's despatch No. 726 of the day before yesterday, I communicated verbally to the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne the substance of your Lordship's instructions to Mr. Elliot Nos. 220, 228, and 232 of the 26th ultimo, and 12th and 20th instant, respecting the unsatisfactory state of the relations between the Porte and the Khedive of Egypt.

* Nos. 17, 29, and 31 † Nos. 29 and 40. ‡ Nos. 25, 26, and 34.

The Prince told me that he had just had a conversation on that subject with Djemil Pasha, the Ottoman Ambassador. The impression left on his mind was (he said) that the Porte desired to take measures against the Khedive, and had instructed its Ambassador to sound the feeling at Paris, in order to ascertain how far it might safely go. He had been very far from authorizing Djemil Pasha to encourage the Porte to maintain the hostile attitude it had assumed. He had, on the contrary, told the Pasha that he had, of his own accord, written to the French Ambassador at Constantinople to dissuade the Porte from giving increased importance to its difference with the Khedive, and that on taking the orders of the Emperor, he had found it necessary to enforce these orders by telegraph in stronger terms. He had proceeded to say to the Pasha that the language of the Khedive in Paris and in London had been perfectly proper and correct, and that, this being the case, the Government of the Emperor could not be expected to give weight to the trifling matters which appeared, with or without reason, to have given offence at Constantinople.

Djemil Pasha had said that the sudden return of the Khedive to Egypt without going to Constantinople had given great additional offence; that of course no invitation would be sent to His Highness by the Sultan; but that his best course would be to go at once to Constantinople and explain his conduct. The Prince had, however, told Djemil Pasha that he must differ from him on this point. It was, he had said, plain that the irritation at Constantinople was very great. It would be worse than useless to offer explanations if there was no disposition to receive them kindly. The Khedive had, in his opinion, acted prudently in going home to look after his own affairs, and in allowing time for the anger conceived against him at the Porte to subside.

Djemil Pasha had endeavoured to dispute the evidence of the hostile disposition of the Porte, and had in particular inquired whether the Porte had not the right to give promotion and a change of posts to officials employed in Egypt. To this the Prince had answered that he did not care to discuss the question of abstract right. No one could consider it a courteous or friendly proceeding to get hold of persons in the service and confidence of the Khedive, and induce them to bring a host of charges against their former master. The fact that there was at this moment an angry hostile feeling towards the Khedive was only too plain. The Prince had, he said, proceeded to remind Djemil Pasha that the Khedive occupied a very great position, and that it was childish to ignore this and treat him as a simple employé of the Porte. Finally, he had begged the Pasha to do his utmost to calm the irritation of his Government, and had urged him seriously to warn the Porte of the very great imprudence of allowing this question to become a great one.

Having given me this account of his conversation with Djemil Pasha, the Prince repeated that the Porte was evidently feeling its way, with a view to seeing how far it could safely go in attacking the Viceroy; and he added, that he considered it of great importance that it should be warned in time by the European Governments of the danger it would incur if it caused a serious Egyptian question to grow up.

Before I went in to the Prince I had met Djemil Pasha, who had just come out, in the anteroom. He had spoken to me much in the same way as I learned afterwards that he had spoken to the Prince. I answered to him in the sense of your Lordship's instructions to Mr. Elliot, and I endeavoured particularly to impress upon him the extreme imprudence of raising gratuitously a question on which it would be vain to hope that the European Powers would all give the Porte that support which alone had brought its quarrel with Greece to a safe and satisfactory termination.

I have, &c.

(Signed) LYONS.

No. 45.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received July 31.)

(No. 805.)

My Lord, *Paris, July 30, 1869.*

THE Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne told me this afternoon that, in the list of complaints against the Khedive, Djemil Pasha, the Turkish Ambassador, had not failed to include the proposal to institute an International Commission to inquire into the subject of judicial reform.

The Prince had, he said, replied that it seemed very strange that the Porte, after making no objection to this inquiry when it was informed of it two years ago, should now

raise difficulties about it. There was nothing in the affair to give umbrage to the Porte. The Commission was simply to examine the peculiar condition of judicial affairs in Egypt and to report. When the time came for giving effect to the recommendations of the Commission, every consideration would be shown for the rights and dignity of the Sultan. The Porte must feel perfectly confident that these rights would be respected by England and France, and would be very unwise if it tried to throw obstacles in the way of a useful inquiry.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 46.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 2.)

(No. 117.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, July 20, 1869.*

THE Viceroy of Egypt having proceeded direct to Alexandria from Toulon, M. de Westmann said to me to-day that he presumed His Highness had, from an unwillingness to pass through Constantinople, abandoned his intention of visiting the Emperor at Livadia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 47.

The Earl of Clarendon to Lord Lyons.

(No. 741.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, August 2, 1869.*

WITH reference to your Excellency's despatch No. 805 of the 30th ultimo, reporting that Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne had expressed to the Turkish Ambassador his surprise at the complaint made by the Porte respecting the proposed International Commission on the judicial affairs of Egypt, I have to state to your Excellency that I have held precisely the same language as that employed by the Prince, in speaking of the Judicial Reform Commission to Musurus Pasha.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 48.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Stanley.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, August 5, 1869.*

IT is very essential that the Viceroy should return a conciliatory answer to Grand Vizier's letter; and if he says that, when the affairs of Egypt permit him to do so, he proposes to pay his respects to the Sultan, Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople believes that the effect will be good.

No. 49.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 6.)

(No. 362. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, July 19, 1869.*

I SAW the Grand Vizier this morning, when I communicated to him your Lordship's despatch No. 220 of the 26th of June, together with the copy of the despatch to Lord Lyons, which it covered, giving an account of your Lordship's conversations with the Viceroy of Egypt and with Nubar Pasha respecting the relations of Egypt and the Porte. Aali Pasha expressed his acknowledgments to your Lordship in the warmest terms for the language you had held to the Khedive, and for letting him understand that the establishment of his independence would not be for his advantage.

No. 47A.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 2.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, August 2, 1869, 9 P.M.*

AS instructed by your Lordship's despatch No. 232 of the 20th, I have communicated to the Grand Vizier the suggestion of Her Majesty's Government that an invitation to Constantinople should be sent to the Viceroy.

Aali Pasha said he could not even submit such a proposal to the Sultan. No invitation had ever been given to the Viceroy, and his expecting it now showed his anxiety to alter his relations towards the Sultan.

No. 47B.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon—(Received August 2.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, August 2, 1869, 9·30 P.M.*

AN Aide-de-camp will be despatched to-morrow with a letter from the Grand Vizier to the Viceroy of Egypt.

It is pointed out to him that in inviting, without authorization, foreign Sovereigns to visit the Sultan's dominions, he has committed an act of disrespect to His Majesty.

The most serious complaint that is made is on account of his having ordered four iron-clad ships without the previous consent of the Sultan.

This is stated to be a direct violation of the conditions of the Firman of 1841, and the Porte shows no disposition to submit to it.

An order for 200,000 rifles is looked upon as at variance with the Firman limiting the Viceroy's army to 30,000 men.

It is very essential that the Viceroy should return a conciliatory answer.

If he said that when the affairs of Egypt permit him to do so he proposes to pay his respects to the Sultan, the effect of it would, I believe, be good.

While recognizing the propriety of the Viceroy's language to your Lordship on this occasion, Aali Pasha observed that His Highness had on former occasions held much the same to himself, but that he was obliged to take these protestations for what they were worth, and to compare them with the Viceroy's acts.

I asked whether he was sure that more importance than conduced to the dignity of the Porte had not been attached to some of the acts complained of,—the head and front of the Viceroy's offending seeming to be the invitations he had given to the different Sovereigns to attend the opening of the Suez Canal, without previous communication with the Sultan.

The Grand Vizier replied that it was not only the invitations, but the whole manner in which the affair had been conducted, which showed a determination on the part of the Viceroy to ignore his own position towards the Sultan.

When the report got about that the Viceroy was going to make these invitations, he had himself written to him in a perfectly friendly tone, to say he had heard it, and to ask what reply he should make to the Sultan, if His Majesty should question him on the subject.

To this letter, couched in most courteous language, from the Sultan's Grand Vizier, the Viceroy had vouchsafed no answer whatever, but had proceeded on his mission; and the first invitation that he made was to the King of Greece.

The next thing that was heard was that he had given 20,000*l.* to the poor of Greece, which, as every one knew, was but another way of making a donation to the Cretan refugees.

It was, Aali Pasha said, only recently that he had become aware of the intrigues that had been carried on in Crete in the interest of the Viceroy, while his troops were nominally assisting in the suppression of the insurrection; but he had latterly ascertained that, encouraged by the French advocacy of the annexation of the island to Egypt, intrigues against the Sultan had been very active.

If the invitations to the Sovereigns had stood alone, however unbecoming towards the Sultan the Viceroy's conduct in that matter would have been, no exaggerated importance would have been attached to it; but the Porte has too much reason to know what his real designs are to be able to see with indifference anything like a public exhibition of them. Could any one, he asked, deny the anxiety of the Viceroy to establish a right of direct negotiation with foreign Governments, and could there be a more undoubted attack on the sovereign rights of the Sultan?

One of the complaints made by the Viceroy was that the Turkish Ambassador was present at audiences with foreign Sovereigns, and this complaint of itself sufficed to show that he objected to recognize the Sultan as his own Sovereign.

The remonstrance that had been made on behalf of the Viceroy against the rank conferred upon Sir S. Baker was an excess of presumption for which the Porte had not been prepared; but the Sultan would certainly not allow the honours he chose to confer, either on his own subjects or upon foreigners, to be called in question by him.

The complaints that had been made by the Viceroy and Nubar Pasha, of interference in the internal administration of Egypt, were altogether without foundation, and the Grand Vizier expressed his wish that, instead of confining themselves to vague assertions which it was impossible to refute, they would state some specific grounds for them.

With reference to the hope which I was instructed to express on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, that the Viceroy should meet from the Porte with the good-will which he was expressing upon his side, Aali Pasha said that His Highness had nothing to fear in that respect so long as his acts were in conformity with his present language; but that it was hardly to be expected that the Porte should pretend to be satisfied with mere expressions of loyalty which cost little and meant less.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 50.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 6.)

(No. 306. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, July 21, 1869.*

A REPORT, of the foundation of which I am not aware, has reached the Porte that the Viceroy had decided not to come to Constantinople.

I had, two days ago, asked the Grand Vizier whether he was acquainted with His

Highness' intentions in this respect, and I am therefore able to speak with confidence of the effect which such a resolution will produce on the mind of the Sultan and his advisers.

I observed to Aali Pasha that I had reason to believe that a doubt as to the manner in which he would be received had made the Viceroy hesitate about coming, but that he would probably make up his mind to do so, if he could feel any security in that respect.

Aali Pasha answered that the Viceroy would be received with all proper respect, although it was impossible that there should be any pretence at cordiality, or anything that looked like an approval of his late proceedings.

It had, however, been intimated to him that the Khedive expected an invitation from the Sultan, which was a new and absurd pretension.

If the Viceroy, after going to pay a visit to the Emperor of Russia, in the Crimea, in the immediate neighbourhood of Constantinople, chose to go out of his way to avoid paying his respects to his own Sovereign, it would be taken as a proof that he had decided upon driving matters to an extremity.

I begged Aali Pasha not to allow himself to be provoked by any insignificant acts of the Viceroy's into sanctioning proceedings that might be followed by more serious consequences than were calculated upon, and he replied that he was himself of opinion that nothing ought to be "brusqué" in the matter.

This declaration, which was satisfactory as far as it went, left me little doubt that there were others who held a different opinion from that of the Grand Vizier, and who will not fail turn to account such a public mark of disrespect to the Sultan as would be implied by his abstaining from coming to Constantinople.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 51.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 6.)

(No. 313.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, July 25, 1869.*

MUSTAPHA FAZIL PASHA, the brother of the Viceroy of Egypt, arrived here two days ago and was yesterday received by the Sultan, who appointed him a Minister without a portfolio.

This mark of favour is not without its significance, for although he had been allowed to return from exile a year and a-half ago, His Highness' connection with the "Young Turkey" party had caused him to be received with much distrust by the Sultan; and it was only during the Prince of Wales' visit that His Majesty, seeing him in his Royal Highness' society, consented to receive him.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 52.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 6.)

(No. 322. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, July 28, 1869.*

THE news of the sudden return of the Viceroy to Egypt caused considerable surprise here, and I learnt yesterday evening that it is intended to ask His Highness for an explanation of his late proceedings.

I have this morning sent to inquire what the proceedings are of which the Porte intends to complain, and to point out how undesirable it is that they should give any justification of the accusation brought against them of irritating interference on their part; but I shall not be able to receive any reply till after the present messenger has been expected.

The Viceroy's sudden decision is supposed to have been caused by his hearing that his brother Mustapha Pasha had returned to Constantinople, when he had been taken back into favour by the Sultan, and appointed Minister without a portfolio.

I cannot think that the Khedive has been wrong in the resolution he has come to.

The personal resentment felt against him by the Sultan at this moment is unquestionably great, and Mustapha Pasha would not be backward in working on His Majesty's feelings for his own ends, which were being advanced by the hesitation already shown by the Viceroy about coming to Constantinople after his projected visit to the Emperor of Russia in the Crimea.

I had yesterday some conversation with Mustapha Pasha, although the subject is one of some delicacy to discuss with him, as the disinherited heir to the Government of Egypt.

If he is at all to be trusted in his account of what passed between the Sultan and himself, His Majesty is little disposed to consider himself bound by his own Firman altering the Egyptian succession.

The only engagement that he looks upon as absolutely obligatory is that which was made in 1841 for securing the Government of Egypt in the family of Mehemet Ali Pasha.

I did not hesitate to tell Mustapha Pasha that although it might sound harshly to him, who could not but look upon himself as unjustly treated by being deprived of the succession, Europe would certainly consider the Sultan wanting in the good faith which should distinguish all the acts of a Sovereign if he were, without sufficient cause, to cancel the arrangement he had made with the Viceroy.

He replied that the arrangement was one which no one who knew the country ever imagined could stand, and that this was now more evident than ever.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 53.

Lord Bloomfield to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 6.)

(No. 327.)
My Lord, *Vienna, August 3, 1869.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 314 of the 26th ultimo, on the subject of the relations between the Sultan and the Viceroy of Egypt, Count Beust has just received a telegram from Baron Prokesch reporting that a change had already taken place in the dispositions of the Porte, and that there was every appearance of an early restoration of the Viceroy to favour.

Count Beust mentioned also that he was glad to hear from London that your Lordship agreed with him on the advisability of engaging the Porte to take a lenient view of the Viceroy's conduct during his late visit to Europe; and he hoped the best effects would be produced by the language which was now held on this subject by the Representatives of foreign Powers at Constantinople.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 54.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 6.)

(No. 830. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Paris, August 5, 1869.*

THE Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne told me this afternoon that the despatches he had received from Constantinople led him to hope that there was some improvement in the state of feeling towards the Khedive of Egypt. At all events the Grand Vizier had (he said) assured the French Ambassador that there was no idea of deposing the Khedive; that all that was intended was that he should be called upon, in friendly and courteous terms, to explain some parts of his conduct.

The Prince appeared to consider that the notion professed at the Porte that the Khedive might be deposed by the Sultan without difficulty was preposterous. It was, his Excellency thought, very doubtful whether it would be found easy to displace Ismael Pasha; and it was idle to suppose that the Porte could, in fact, take a step of the kind without bringing on a discussion of difficult questions with the Powers of Europe. The quarrel was very much to be regretted, and every effort should, he conceived, be made to appease it.

I observed that while, on the one hand, it was very necessary that the friends of the Porte should make it feel the extreme imprudence of going on with a quarrel in which it

would receive no support from the European Powers, it was, on the other hand, very important to do this in such a way as not to encourage the Khedive to be refractory and unconciliatory.

The Prince said that public opinion in Europe would certainly be against the Porte, and that, on this account it would be very unfortunate if imprudent counsels prevailed at Constantinople. He appeared to be fully aware of the necessity of recommending prudence to the Khedive no less than to the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 55.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 7.)

(No. 836.)
My Lord,

Paris, August 6, 1869.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch No. 768 of yesterday, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that I spoke this afternoon to the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne of the telegraphic intelligence which your Lordship had received from Mr. Elliot respecting the relations between the Porte and the Khedive of Egypt.

Mr. Elliot, I said, reported that a letter from the Grand Vizier was to be dispatched to the Khedive on the 3rd instant, in which His Highness would be informed that, in inviting, without authorization, foreign Sovereigns to visit the Sultan's dominions, he had been guilty of disrespect towards his Sovereign; and in which, moreover, serious complaint would be made of his ordering not only iron-clad ships, but a quantity of rifles wholly out of proportion to the number of soldiers which the Firmans sanctioned.

I said that Mr. Elliot thought it was of the greatest importance that the Khedive should return a conciliatory answer to the Grand Vizier's letter, and was also of opinion that the effect would be good if His Highness said that he purposed to pay his respects to the Sultan as soon as the affairs of Egypt would allow of his doing so.

I added that your Lordship had sent a telegram to this effect to Her Majesty's Acting Consul-General in Egypt.

The Prince told me that he was about to write a despatch to the French Representative in Egypt enjoining him to recommend in general terms a conciliatory line of conduct towards the Porte. He had not, he said, been aware of the details I had just communicated to him; but he would at once send a telegram to the French Representative to the same effect as that which your Lordship had sent to Her Majesty's Acting Consul-General.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 56.

The Earl of Clarendon to Lord Lyons.

(No. 774.)
My Lord,

Foreign Office, August 7, 1869.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 830 of the 5th instant, in which you report a conversation with the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne regarding the relations between the Porte and the Khedive of Egypt.

Her Majesty's Government approve of the language held by your Excellency on this occasion; and they learn with great satisfaction that the views of the Imperial Government in this matter are in complete accordance with those of Her Majesty's Government.

Your Excellency will have seen, by my telegram of the 5th instant to Mr. Consul Stanley, that conciliatory advice has already been given to the Khedive by Her Majesty's Government, of the nature of which your Excellency will inform the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 57.

Mr. Stanley to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 8.)

(Telegraphic.)

Alexandria, August 8, 1869.

I HAVE talked to the Viceroy, who will write as conciliatory answer as possible, and will show it to me before signing; but is most unwilling to go to Constantinople, as it will be humiliating to be there while his brother, and uncle, and others are there, and honoured. Letter from Constantinople is expected to-day.

No. 58.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Elliot.

(No. 254. Confidential.)
Sir,

Foreign Office, August 10, 1869.

WITH reference to that passage in your Excellency's despatch No. 302 of the 19th ultimo, marked Confidential, in which it is stated that one of the complaints made by the Viceroy of Egypt was, that the Turkish Ambassador was present at his interviews with foreign Sovereigns, which complaint the Grand Vizier considered as sufficing to show that His Highness objected to recognize the Sultan as his own Sovereign, I have to state to your Excellency that no such complaint was made here during the Viceroy's late visit, to the knowledge of Her Majesty's Government, but that, on the contrary, the Khedive's conduct towards Musurus Pasha seemed to me most becoming.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 59.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Elliot.

(No. 255.)
Sir,

Foreign Office, August 10, 1869.

WITH reference to your despatch No. 306 of the 21st ultimo, reporting a conversation with the Grand Vizier respecting the decision of the Viceroy of Egypt not to visit Constantinople, I have to state to your Excellency that I approve your language on that occasion; and your Excellency will continue to urge in a suitable manner moderation on the part of the Porte in dealing with this matter.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 60.

Mr. Otway to Colonel Stanton.

(Confidential.)
Sir,

Foreign Office, August 10, 1869.

I AM directed by the Earl of Clarendon to transmit to you a despatch which his Lordship has received from Mr. Elliot,* relating to the misunderstanding between the Porte and the Viceroy of Egypt; and I am to request that you will report your opinion as to the state of feeling in that country with regard to the question of succession, and also on any other points connected with this subject, on which you may have any observations to offer.

I am, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR OTWAY.

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* No. 52.

No. 61.

Mr. Stanley to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 11.)

(Telegraphic.) *Alexandria, August 11, 1869.*

HIS Highness the Viceroy has just told me he will write the following phrase in his answer to the Grand Vizier:—

"When I have finished the affairs of the State, I hope to go to Constantinople, and present my homage to the Sultan."

No. 61*.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 11.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, August 11, 1869, 5 P.M.*

IN the letter to the Viceroy it was stated that the Sultan expected a guarantee from him for the future. I have inquired what this means. I am informed that what the Sultan requires from the Viceroy is a formal pledge to observe the Firman of 1841, to stop the building of the iron-clads, and the orders for 200,000 rifles, to keep the army within the prescribed number, to abstain from negotiating Treaties, and to adhere to the fundamental laws of the Empire, and to all Treaty engagements of the Porte.

No. 62.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 13.)

(No. 857.)

My Lord, *Paris, August 12, 1869.*

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatches No. 774 of the 7th instant, and No. 786 of the day before yesterday, I have the honour to inform you that the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne told me this afternoon that he had received intelligence from M. Bourée, the French Ambassador at Constantinople, which showed that the ill-feeling against the Khedive of Egypt was not appeased. M. Bourée, indeed, stated that a great deal was still said, though not officially, about deposing the Khedive, and he suggested that the energetic interference of the European Powers might still be required to dissuade the Porte from taking strong measures. The Prince had, he said, informed M. Bourée by telegraph that the Government of the Emperor had already given conciliatory advice at Alexandria, and that they desired that similar advice should be strongly pressed upon the Porte.

Your Lordship will have learnt by my despatch No. 836 of the 6th instant, that I informed the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne on that day of the contents of your Lordship's telegram to Mr. Stanley of the 5th instant directing him to give conciliatory advice to the Khedive.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 63.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 14.)

(No 325.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, August 2, 1869.*

I, THIS morning, communicated to Aali Pasha the substance of your Lordship's despatch No. 232 of the 20th of July, suggesting on the part of Her Majesty's Government that an invitation to Constantinople should be sent to the Viceroy.

His Highness replied that it was impossible for him even to submit such a proposal to the Sultan.

The assertions of the Khedive of his having received invitations on all previous occasions were, he said, altogether without foundation. No such invitation had ever been made to him, and the fact of his now expecting one proves that the Porte was right in considering the Viceroy determined to try to alter the relations that have hitherto existed between himself and the Sultan.

When the Viceroy went to Scio three years ago, and to Broussa last year for the benefit of his health, the Sultan sent an aide-de-camp to convey his compliments to the

Viceroy, who announced his intentions of coming to pay his respects to His Majesty, but nothing of the nature of an invitation was ever made.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 64.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 14.)

(No. 327.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, August 2, 1869.*

I AM informed by the Grand Vizier that Sami Bey, one of his aides-de-camp, will be dispatched to-morrow to Alexandria with a letter from His Highness to the Viceroy. It is pointed out to him that in inviting, without authorization, foreign Sovereigns to visit the Ottoman dominions he has committed an act of disrespect to the Sultan.

The most serious complaint that is put forward is on the subject of the four iron-clads which he has ordered without the previous consent of His Majesty. This act is stated to be a direct violation of the Firman of 1841, and the Porte shows no disposition to allow it to pass unnoticed.

Another subject of complaint is an order for 200,000 rifles, also considered to be at variance with the same Firman, which expressly limits the Viceroy's army to 30,000 men.

It is very essential that His Highness should return a conciliatory answer. He might say that when the affairs of his province permit him to pay his respects to his Suzerain, he proposes to come over to Constantinople. The effect of such a reply would, I feel convinced, be favourable to the interests of peace.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 65.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 14.)

(No. 328.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, August 3, 1869.*

I CALLED yesterday upon the Grand Vizier to communicate to him the views of Her Majesty's Government respecting the relations of the Viceroy of Egypt and the Porte, as conveyed to me by your despatch No. 228 of the 12th ultimo, and I at the same time informed him of the language that had been held by the Viceroy to Lord Lyons, as reported in his Excellency's despatch to your Lordship No. 710.

Aali Pasha remarked that the only tangible grievance which the Viceroy had to allege against the Porte was for the rank conferred on Sir S. Baker at the request of the Prince of Wales.

It was done as a simple act of courtesy to his Royal Highness, and it infringed no right of the Viceroy's. The Sultan gave no employment to Sir S. Baker, but in conferring military rank upon him, he merely exercised an hitherto unquestioned prerogative.

Aali Pasha repudiated all responsibility for the newspaper articles in which the Viceroy had been attacked, having no paper over which he tried to exert an influence; adding that, as the articles in question did not appear till after the Egyptian paper the "Nil" had been writing up the independence of the Viceroy, and publishing scurrilous articles against the Porte, His Highness was scarcely in a position that justified him in making any complaint on the subject.

I informed Aali Pasha of the substance of the Marquis de Lavalette's language to Lord Lyons, and stated that I was instructed to say that Her Majesty's Government entirely concurred in his views, and would witness with the utmost regret any breach between the Sultan and the Viceroy. The Grand Vizier said I might assure your Lordship that neither the Sultan nor his Ministers had any wish to see such a breach, and that, at all events, the responsibility of it should not rest upon them.

As long as the Viceroy conformed his conduct to the position that had been assigned to him, no attempt would be made to interfere with him, but the Porte was not disposed to allow those limits to be overstepped, so as gradually to render the Khedive more independent of the Sultan.

On various other occasions the European Governments had thought that the Christian interests involved, obliged them to remonstrate against the course which the Porte

considered advisable, but in this case the matter at issue was solely between the Sultan and a Mahometan Ruler.

I said that if, in this case, the Governments of England and France did not hesitate to urge the Porte to pursue a policy of conciliation towards the Viceroy, it was because they were satisfied that a contrary course would be injurious to the true interests of Turkey, and attended with risk to the tranquillity of the East.

Upon both these points Aali Pasha said the Turkish Government were more deeply interested than we could possibly be, and were, he believed, as well qualified to form a correct opinion. He did not doubt the friendly feelings which prompted the advice, but he questioned whether all the facts of the case were as well known to the Western Governments, and had been considered as carefully by them as they had been by the Government of the Sultan, which was so closely affected by them.

A habit had, he said, been growing up in Europe of regarding the Viceroy as being in a very different position from that which he legitimately holds. He is occasionally spoken of as the vassal, and the Sultan as the Suzerain. The terms are altogether incorrect, and imply a state of things that the Porte has never even been asked to recognize. The wording of the constituting Firman of February 13, 1841, was too explicit to leave any possible doubt upon this head.

It stated that "the Governors of Egypt, although enjoying the privilege of hereditary succession, shall be assimilated to the other Viziers with respect to rank and to precedence, which shall be regulated according to seniority."

Was it possible, in the face of such plain language, to regard the Viceroy as a semi-independent vassal? It might be well to look a little further into the same Firman.

It would be found in it that the imposts and taxes are to be levied "in the Sultan's name on the inhabitants of Egypt, who are subjects of the Sublime Porte, and must be secured against every sort of cruelty and oppression." That the number of soldiers to be maintained was to be limited to 18,000 men; but that as "the land and sea forces of Egypt are maintained for the service of the Sublime Porte, the latter shall have the power in time of war of increasing that number, in such manner as it may think fit. The cut and form of the clothes of the troops, as well as their ensigns and flags, shall in no wise be distinguished from those in use among the other troops of the Sublime Porte."

"The officers of the land and sea forces up to the rank of major, inclusively, shall be appointed according to the choice of the Governors of Egypt; the superior ranks can only be conferred by the Sultan on the recommendation of the said Governors.

"The Governors of Egypt shall not be permitted to build vessels-of-war without the express permission of the Sublime Porte."

And finally, as Aali Pasha pointed out, there was a clause, although the Porte had no present intention of acting upon it, which stated that, "as the privilege of the hereditary succession depends upon each of the present conditions, the non-fulfilment of one of them would cause the immediate revocation and annulment of the said privilege."

I remarked to Aali Pasha that an additional administrative independence had been conceded to the Viceroy by the Sultan's Firman of 1866; but that, besides this, we could not be blind to the fact that, although by the Firman of 1841 the Viceroy may have been treated as any other provincial Pasha, the mere fact of the Government of Egypt being made hereditary in his family placed him in a totally different position.

We have therefore to deal, not only with the arrangements of 1841, but with the position of the Viceroy as it has existed *de facto*, and as necessarily resulting from the hereditary government.

I must do Aali Pasha the justice to say that he made no difficulty in admitting the truth of this observation. The Porte, he assured me, although strictly entitled to do so, had never tried to treat the Viceroy like the other Governors of provinces; but there are limits beyond which they are not prepared to go, and, when they find the Viceroy determined, as they believe, to exceed these limits, they are then entitled to appeal to the only document having anything of an international character by which his legal position is defined.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 66.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 14.)

(No. 329. Confidential.)

Constantinople, August 3, 1869.

My Lord,

IN the conversation I had yesterday with the Grand Vizier, I could not fail to see that he was greatly disappointed by the view taken by your Lordship of the present relations of the Porte and the Viceroy.

He alluded to the events of 1840 and 1841, and to the firmness with which Her Majesty's Government had resisted the attempt to deprive the Ottoman Empire of its most important province; observing that the final arrangement with respect to Egypt, by which the hereditary government was secured to the family of Mehemet Ali, had been not so much approved of by Her Majesty's Government as consented to in order to avoid a European war.

His Highness asked me whether he was to suppose that Her Majesty's Government had changed their views, and now considered it desirable that a position and a degree of independence never contemplated in the arrangement of 1841 should be given to the Viceroy.

Upon my remarking that your Lordship's recommendation of a conciliatory disposition towards the Viceroy was based upon the assurances reiterated by His Highness, both in London and Paris, that he had no intention of ignoring his duties, Aali Pasha asked whether it was seriously expected that he should attach to such declarations a value which it was evident they could not merit.

For many years past the Porte had been too much accustomed to such protestations to be any longer taken in by them.

Neither the Servian, nor the Roumanian, nor the Greek Governments had ever been niggardly in their declarations, but Aali Pasha does not believe that your Lordship would contend that the acts of those Governments were at all in conformity with them, and he does not understand why the words of the Viceroy are now to be accepted and his acts and proceedings forgotten.

When the Khedive protests that he has not been aiming at independence and is satisfied with the position to which he is entitled, it may be well, Aali Pasha went on to say, to remember what took place during the Cretan insurrection.

Believing the Porte to be engaged in a critical struggle, he chose that moment for putting forward five demands. He required—

1. The right of coining money;
2. The right to confer decorations;
3. The right of being represented at foreign Courts;
4. The right to conclude Treaties with foreign Governments; and
5. The title of "Aziz," which has a Royal signification.

Her Majesty's Government will certainly not be of opinion that these demands could be looked upon otherwise than as an attempt to take advantage of the difficulties of the Porte to establish a state of things hardly differing from absolute independence; and as soon as they were declined by the Sultan, the Viceroy insisted upon withdrawing from Crete the troops which he had ostensibly sent for His Majesty's assistance. But, Aali Pasha said, he would leave these, and come to still more recent proceedings.

He would recall to your Lordship's recollection that, by the Firman of 1841, the troops the Viceroy was entitled to maintain were limited to 18,000 men, and that their number was subsequently extended to 30,000; but, in the face of this, it appears that contracts have been entered into by the Egyptian Government for the purchase of 200,000 new rifles. Again, the Firman of 1841 expressly interdicted the Viceroy from ordering ships of war without the Sultan's sanction, but the Porte now learns that he has ordered four new iron-clads.

The invitations to the Sovereigns is a very minor point, and is important chiefly as a public indication of want of deference to the Sultan, who has been greatly offended at Royal personages being invited to his territories without his consent being asked.

Aali Pasha does not doubt that the language held by the Viceroy to your Lordship and to the French Government was proper and becoming, but it was so because he had then become convinced that no other would be tolerated in him. He had left Egypt on a crusade of independence, but, on seeing that the attempt must fail, he had had tact enough to change his tone in his official conversations.

There was, however, reason to believe that to private persons he held very different language, and that his object had been to impress the European public that he was himself

an energetic administrative reformer, whose efforts were defeated by his subjection to the Sultan.

If your Lordship would recall all these considerations, Aali Pasha is convinced that you will see that it would be puerile to be blinded to the manifest tendencies of the Viceroy by a few vague protestations of loyalty and respect for the Sultan.

He is equally satisfied that, with the unwavering interest which Her Majesty's Government, and your Lordship in particular, has upon so many occasions shown for the welfare of the Turkish Empire, you cannot desire to see the Porte deliberately and consciously allow the Viceroy, by innovations, of which many may be trifling in themselves, to assume a position that would inevitably before long pave the way for an attempt at complete independence.

The Porte has no intention whatever of curtailing the recognized privileges of the Viceroy, but it does expect that the arrangements entered into shall be faithfully observed on both sides.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 67.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received August* 14.)

(No. 330.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, August* 3, 1869.

IN my despatch No. 328 I informed your Lordship that I had sent to the Porte to say how undesirable it was that anything should be done to justify the Viceroy of Egypt in his complaints of vexatious interference on their part.

I have the honour to inclose herewith Mr. Pisani's report of the language held by Aali Pasha upon his executing my instructions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 67.

Mr. E. Pisani to Mr. Elliot.

Sir, *Therapia, July* 28, 1869.

IN pursuance of your Excellency's instruction of yesterday's date, I told Aali Pasha that you should be glad to be informed what are the proceedings of the Khedive respecting which the Porte intends to ask for an explanation, and added that it is undesirable that anything should be done to justify the Viceroy in his complaints of vexatious interference on the part of the Porte.

His Highness stated, in reply, that the Porte had on no occasion meddled with the internal administration of Egypt so long as the Khedive behaved consistently with his duties towards his Sovereign and country; but having now outstepped the limits prescribed to him by the Firman of the 13th of February, 1841, the Sultan can by no means remain silent, and allow him to trench upon his Sovereign rights. The prerogative of inviting Sovereigns, observed Aali Pasha, belongs exclusively to Royalty and not to vassals. In taking that step it is more than obvious that the Viceroy acted in defiance of the Sultan. He considered the approaching opening of the Canal as offering a favourable opportunity for the realization of his dream; but having found no encouragement in Europe, he thought better of it. It is not the less certain, as proved by written evidence, said His Highness, that if he had met the least moral support to his long-contemplated scheme, he would undoubtedly have proclaimed his independence.

The Porte, proceeded Aali Pasha, would be wanting in its duty if it failed to ask for a full explanation on this and other points of importance. For instance, the Khedive has, in contravention to the above-quoted Firman, ordered two iron-clads, without previously applying to and obtaining the express permission of the Porte. He considers himself entitled to propose Treaties to foreign Powers, without having the right to do so. It is stipulated in the same Firman, "that the Pashas of Egypt will have to watch constantly over the welfare and safety of the inhabitants, to preserve them from any act of injustice and oppression, and to abstain from proceedings contrary to the contents of the Firman." Far from fulfilling the conditions contained therein, Ismail Pasha has done all he could to ruin the country by his extravagant expenditure, and has reduced the population to utter misery.

Under these circumstances the Porte cannot permit such acts to pass unnoticed, and deems it its bounden duty to remonstrate with him on these subjects and call him to order before it is too late.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ET. PISANI.

No. 68.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received August* 14.)

(No. 331. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, August* 5, 1869.

A POLISH gentleman, who holds the position of a Confidential Secretary to Prince Halim, the uncle of the Viceroy of Egypt, called upon me this morning with the object, as it appeared, of eliciting an opinion whether the European Governments would interfere if the Sultan were to proceed to depose the Khedive.

I said it was impossible for me to say whether those Governments would feel called upon actively to interfere in such an emergency, but I requested him to convey to Prince Halim from me the assurance that any such step on the part of the Porte would be looked upon with the utmost possible dissatisfaction by them, unless the Viceroy were to give a much greater justification for it than could be found in anything that had yet been established against him.

The Viceroy had afforded the Porte some just causes of complaint, but it was to be expected that he would make explanations that would be considered satisfactory.

I was desirous that Prince Halim should not possibly suppose that the deposition of the Viceroy would be seen with indifference by Her Majesty's Government, and I shall take the first opportunity that offers of stating this personally to His Highness.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 69.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received August* 16.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, August* 16, 1869, 6 P.M.

I HAVE just had a long conversation with the Grand Vizier respecting the Viceroy.

His Highness says that the points upon which the Porte must continue to insist are, renunciation of the iron-clads and of the rifles ordered abroad, and some security against the financial extravagance which must reduce to ruin the most important province of the Empire.

In ten years the Viceroy has created a debt of forty millions, which is more than half the amount of the whole of that of the rest of the Empire.

In the time of his predecessor no debt was contracted without the previous sanction of the Porte, which must now insist upon his Highness following the same course.

No. 70.

Mr. Stanley to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received August* 18.)

(No. 26. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Alexandria, August* 9, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to report that, on the receipt of your Lordship's cypher telegram of the 6th instant, I called on the Viceroy and informed him how essential Her Majesty's Government deemed it that he should send a conciliatory answer to the Grand Vizier's letter, and that Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople believed that should His Highness pay his respects to the Sultan when the affairs of Egypt should permit him to do so the effect would be good.

His Highness, who had previously opened the subject by informing me an aide-de-camp of the Sultan's was coming the next day with a letter, expressed his gratitude for the kind interest taken in his affairs by Her Majesty's Government, and said that he was anxious to follow their advice; he would reply in the most conciliatory terms possible, and

would show me his answer before signing it, but thought it was almost impossible for him at the present time personally to pay his respects to the Sultan, as it would be too humiliating for him to go there when his two known enemies, Mustapha Pasha and Halim Pasha, were received with honours and admitted into the Sultan's councils, and when Khurshid Pasha, lately Governor of Alexandria, who had just deserted him in a shamefully base manner, had been instantly promoted by the Sultan to a post of honour and emolument.

He dwelt much on the accusation made against him of being desirous to render himself independent of the Porte, denied that any of his words or deeds could have such a construction, denied that he had increased his army or navy, but maintained that he had a right to invite the Sovereigns of Europe to the opening of the Suez Canal, which work he had promoted by all the means in his power.

I told him he might rely on Her Majesty's Government not counselling him to do anything which would be really humiliating, or which would be derogatory to his dignity as Viceroy of Egypt, and reminded him that it had been necessary to obtain the Sultan's Firman for making the Canal; to which he replied, that the last Firman given to him, dispensed him from the necessity of obtaining Firmans for similar works.

He admitted that the neutralization of the Canal was an Imperial concern, and beyond his competence to initiate.

He complained bitterly of the manner in which the Porte had continually exercised and abused its rights of sovereignty in opposing everything the Rulers of Egypt had done for the good of the country, and cited the Mahmoudieh Canal, which was opposed by the Sultan, the Railway to Suez, which was also opposed, and only carried out through the good offices of Her Majesty's Government, and now the reform of the judicial system in Egypt.

He appealed to me whether the most glaring untruths were not constantly circulated about him, such as the Sultan's name being no longer mentioned in the mosques throughout Egypt, his having ordered placards with the inscription, "Royal Egyptian Post."

This latter he admitted had been done by some foolish flatterer, but that he had ordered it instantly to be changed, and the author to be dismissed.

I think this a question on which it is my duty to give my opinion. I therefore venture, with all deference, to submit that I cannot but agree with the Viceroy in his remarks as to the inexpediency of his visiting Constantinople at the present time.

He cannot, nor is it expedient that he should, resign as an ordinary Governor of a province would do, on incurring such marked displeasure of his Sovereign, nor can he afford to submit himself to the great indignity which he maintains he would suffer were he to go to Constantinople now, summoned, as he alleges, through the intrigues of his brother and uncle, which would cause his influence and usefulness as Governor of Egypt to be ruined.

Unless Egypt is to be a mere province of the Empire, and subject to the same internal regulations, the Viceroy must be in a certain sense independent, and maintain a position of dignity; and anything which humiliates him naturally deteriorates from his dignity, and lowers him in the estimation of those subjects to his rule.

This matter is of course much talked of here; and even those most hostile to him deprecate, as well-wishers to Egypt, his going to Constantinople under the present circumstances.

It is my opinion, that were Mustapha, Halim, Khurshid, and Hassan Pachas not paraded before him in posts of honour, he would be glad to go to Constantinople, and render homage to the Sultan.

I say this with some diffidence, as not having his authority for it, nor indeed would I venture, in the absence of instructions, to suggest such a compromise to him.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. E. STANLEY.

No. 71.

Mr. Stanley to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 18.)

(No. 27. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Alexandria, August 9, 1869.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that at the moment of finishing my despatch No. 26, the Viceroy sent for me and told me he had this morning received the

letter from Constantinople, which was couched in most severe terms. He will give me a copy of it and of his answer, which he will submit, before sending to the Porte, to the various European Governments through Nubar Pasha.

The chief accusations against him were, that he had invited the Sovereigns; that he was increasing his forces and munitions of war; that he was endeavouring to change the judicial system of this country; that he gave Nubar Pasha the title of Minister of Foreign Affairs.

There was no question in it of his going to Constantinople.

He will, in deference to the wishes of friendly Powers, answer this letter with the utmost moderation, but he said he could not comply with some of the conditions.

He alleged that he had the consent of the Sultan to all these points with the exception of inviting the Sovereigns to the opening of the Canal.

The letter also called him to account for the administration of the finances of Egypt.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. E. STANLEY.

No. 72.

Colonel Stanton to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 18.)

(Confidential.)
My Lord, *Braemore, Ross-shire, August 15, 1869.*

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's Confidential despatch of the 10th instant, transmitting a despatch from Mr. Elliot (herewith returned) relative to the misunderstanding between the Porte and the Viceroy of Egypt: and, in compliance with your Lordship's instructions, to report my opinion as to the state of feeling in Egypt with regard to the question of succession, have the honour to submit the following remarks:—

The statement made to Mr. Elliot by Mustapha Pasha that the arrangement in the succession was one which no one who knew the country ever imagined could stand, and that this was now more evident than ever, does not appear to me to be warranted by the circumstances of the country. The condition of the population in Egypt is such that public feeling, as the term is understood in Europe on any question of State policy, cannot be said to exist there, and I believe I may safely assert that, to the mass of the inhabitants, it would be a matter of the most perfect indifference who might be their ruler; any change in the order of succession being apparently to them merely a change from one task-master to another, without much prospect of improvement in their condition, or diminution of the taxes imposed upon them; and I believe the change in the law of succession is not likely to meet with opposition from others than the fanatical Mussulmans, who are not numerous in Egypt, and the partisans Mustapha and Halim Pashas may have in that country.

I have myself never heard one good word advanced for the former, and I do not believe he has any real party to support him; but being a master in the art of intrigue he may very probably be able to give the present Viceroy great uneasiness in his relations with the Porte, and by tempting the cupidity of the Ottoman officials may possibly induce the revocation of the Succession Firman.

Halim Pasha is, in my opinion, a more dangerous opponent. He is popular with the Bedouin and other half-wild Arab tribes of Egypt, and would, if openly supported by the Porte, undoubtedly have a considerable party in his favour.

I do not, however, my Lord, believe that the Viceroy has any serious cause for apprehension in this question, and I imagine the present quarrel with the Porte will be arranged as others have been before, by the Viceroy placing a considerable sum of money at the Sultan's disposal.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. STANTON.

No. 73.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 18.)

(No. 872. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Paris, August 17, 1869.*

NUBAR PASHA has told me confidentially that the Khedive has telegraphed to him *in extenso* the letter addressed to His Highness by the Grand Vizier.

The letter (Nubar Pasha says) enumerates complaints of the conduct of the Khedive and asks for "friendly" explanations respecting them.

The principal subjects of complaint are the Viceroy's recent journey in Europe; his invitations to foreign Sovereigns to come to the opening of the Suez Canal; his having caused ships to be built for himself without the previous consent of the Porte; and his having ordered 100,000 breech-loading muskets.

The letter begs the Khedive to consider seriously the admonition given to him. It affirms that the Sultan will not permit the slightest encroachment on his Imperial rights; it exhorts the Viceroy to abstain from meddling with foreign affairs; to occupy himself with promoting the well-being of Egypt; to give the inhabitants guarantees for the security of their lives and property; to observe, in short, all the conditions of the Firmans, and thus to merit new favours from his Sovereign. It repeats that the Porte will never give up the conditions on which the Firmans were granted, and declares that if the Khedive acts in a spirit adverse to those conditions, the Porte will be obliged itself to have recourse to them against His Highness.

The letter concludes by saying that the Grand Vizier has written without reserve and without any concealed design, and that he expects a clear and positive answer.

The Khedive has, moreover, Nubar Pasha tells me, informed him by telegraph that he has sent a full and very conciliatory answer to Constantinople, in which he has expressed his desire to pay his respects to the Sultan as soon as the affairs of Egypt will permit him to do so.

Nubar Pasha is of opinion that as the demands of the Porte do not go beyond what is stated in the letter, and, as the Viceroy has sent a conciliatory answer, there is every reason to hope that the whole matter will, in a short time, be satisfactorily settled.

I have, &c.

(Signed) LYONS.

No. 74.

Mr. Stanley to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 18.)

(Telegraphic.) *Alexandria, August 17, 1869.*

I HAVE sent Ambassador at Constantinople following telegram, August 17:—

"The Chief of the Viceroy's Secretariat, Talat Pasha, leaves day after to-morrow in a private yacht of the Viceroy's with the Sultan's messenger. He takes answer to the Grand Vizier, which I have read; it is most conciliatory and submissive. He sends Talat Pasha as a mark of extreme respect, superfluous unless they (should go?) before the Grand Vizier; and will go later himself to render homage.

"It has been impossible to send you an answer quicker."

No. 75.

Memorandum relating to Firman issued by the Sultan in 1841, conferring, in favour of the Family of Mehemet Ali, the Right of Succession to the Pashalic of Egypt; and changes made in the above by the Sultan's Firmans of May 1866 and June 1867.

Communicated by M. Musurus, June 11, 1866.

A DESPATCH addressed to M. Musurus by his Government dated the 30th of May, 1866, inclosed a copy of a Firman of the Sultan, changing the order of succession to the Pashalic of Egypt.

By this Firman the succession to the Pashalic, including the territories annexed and dependent, with the Chiaucaaries of Sevakia and Moussawa, was to be direct in the male line, by right of primogeniture, in the family of the present Viceroy, Ismael Pasha.

In the event of the Viceroy dying without leaving male issue, the succession was to go to the eldest of his brothers, and in default of brothers to the eldest of the male children of the oldest of his deceased brothers.

The rule which interdicts the succession of the male descendants of the daughters of the Viceroy was maintained as heretofore.

The Firman likewise confirmed the right which had recently been conceded by the Sultan to the Viceroy, of maintaining an effective army of 30,000 men, and also confirmed the right of maintaining a difference in the standard value of the moneys struck in Egypt with that of the coin of the rest of the Empire. The right also of granting civil rank up to that of Sainé (second rank of the 1st class) was confirmed.

The tribute payable by the Viceroy to the Sultan was raised from 80,000 to 150,000 purses, to date from the month of March 1866. With the exception of the above changes the conditions contained in the Firman of 1841 were to remain in force.

The Earl of Clarendon wishes to be informed whether any reason exists, with reference to the arrangement of 1841, why Great Britain should not concur in the proposed changes.

One of the principal conditions of the submission in 1841 of Mehemet Ali, the Viceroy of Egypt, to the authority of the Sultan, was that the right of succession to the Government of Egypt should be conceded to his family.

These terms, however, met with considerable opposition from the Sultan; and it was only on the urgent representation of his allies (Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia) who had stipulated for such concession by an "Acte Separé," annexed to the Treaty, signed between the four Powers and Turkey in London on the 15th of July, 1840, that he finally consented to renew the hereditary rights of succession enjoyed by the Viceroy.

On the 12th of January, 1841, a Hatti-Sherif was communicated to the Representatives of the four Powers, in which it was stated that the Sultan, in deference to their advice and wishes, had resolved to renew the hereditary rights of Mehemet Ali, to the Pashalic of Egypt, on the condition of his making such submission as would be considered complete by the Council of the Sultan. Lord Ponsonby; January 13, 1841. The Plenipotentiaries of the Four Powers to the Turkish Plenipotentiaries, London, January 30, 1841.

On the 11th of March, 1841, the Turkish Government communicated to that of Her Majesty a Firman of Investiture which had been signed by the Sultan on the 13th of February, 1841, and sent to Mehemet Ali.

The following were the principal conditions contained in the Firman:—

1. On the Government of Egypt becoming vacant the succession was to be conferred upon one of the male children of Mehemet Ali, to be selected and chosen by the Sultan, and the same principle was to be followed with regard to their male children. In case of the extinction of all male descendants the Government was to be conferred on some other person to be selected by the Sultan, the male issue through the female line having no right to the succession.

2. The Hatti-Sherif of Gulhané, as well as all established laws, or future laws established by the Sublime Porte, together with all existing or future Treaties with friendly Powers, were to be in force in Egypt.

3. All taxes were to be levied in the name of the Sultan, and a quarter of the revenue was to be paid to the Porte.

4. The standard value of Egyptian money was to be assimilated to that of Constantinople.

5. The army to be maintained by the Pasha was limited in time of peace to 18,000 men, but to be augmented in time of war. Provision was also made regarding the period of service, uniform, &c.

6. Naval and military officers up to the rank of Kol Aghassi (Major) were to be nominated by the Pasha; the superior grades could only be conferred by the Sultan on the recommendation of the Viceroy.

7. The Viceroy was restricted from constructing vessels of war without the express permission of the Porte.

On the same day an Imperial Firman was also addressed to Mehemet Ali, conferring upon him the Governments of Nubia, Darfour, Kordufan, and Sennar, and empowering him to abolish the negro limits.

The above Firmans having been referred to the Plenipotentiaries of the four Powers, they expressed their satisfaction at the definitive settlement of the question, and observed that it remained solely with the authority of Sultan to settle the question of internal administration which remained to be regulated.

Mehemet Ali, however, made several objections to the terms of the Firman, particularly to those relating to the selection of a successor by the Sultan, the execution of the Hatti-Sherif of Gulhané, the application of foreign Treaties to Egypt, as also of the Turkish laws. He also declined to confine the collection of taxes to such as were legal only by the laws of the Empire, and he stated that it was impossible for him to pay the amount of tribute required.

He consented to the conditions regarding the limitation of the army, the construction of ships-of-war, the coinage, the Slave Trade, and the assimilation of the military uniforms, &c., of the army.

In consequence of the opposition of Mehemet Ali to the Firman of the 13th February, the Allied Powers urged the Sultan to issue an amended Firman; and on the 22nd May, 1841, Lord Ponsonby forwarded to Her Majesty's Government a copy of the proposed new

Firman, which had been communicated to the Ministers of the four Powers at Constantinople.

He forwarded, at the same time, a note which had been signed by the allied Representatives, stating that they found nothing in the new Firman to be objected to.

The principal changes made in the new Firman rendered more explicit the right of succession in the family of Mehemet Ali, their *nomination* still, however, remaining in the hands of the Porte. The enforcement of the Hatti-Sherif of Gulhané was also modified in so far as it was to be adopted in such way as local circumstances would allow. The amount of tribute was also fixed by a further Firman issued at the same time, at 80,000 purses. Certain alterations were made with regard to the military service, and the Viceroy was to be empowered to name military and naval officers up to the rank of Colonel (Colonel Agassi).

[a] See Annex No. 1.

From the foregoing it will be observed that, by the Firman[a] issued in 1866, the following modifications were made in the Firman of 1841:—

1. The succession, instead of being "de l'aîné à l'aîné," was settled on the eldest *male child* of the reigning Viceroy; and in the event of his leaving no male issue, the succession was to devolve on the eldest of his brothers, and in default of brothers, upon the eldest son of the eldest of his deceased brothers;

2. Instead of 18,000 men, the Viceroy was allowed to maintain an army of 30,000 men;

3. Instead of assimilating the coinage of Egypt to that of the rest of the Empire, the Viceroy was allowed to continue the different standard of value;

4. He was allowed to confer the civil rank of the Turkish Government up to that of Saïné;

5. The tribute of 80,000 purses was raised to 150,000; and

6. The ports of Suakin and Massowah were definitively placed under the government of the Viceroy.

It does not appear from the correspondence of 1840-41, that any stipulation or understanding was made between Turkey and the Powers who were parties to the negotiations for the pacification of the Levant, by which the former was precluded without the consent of the latter from making such changes in the Firman of 1841 as might be considered necessary for the welfare of the Empire.

The stipulation annexed to the Treaty of 15th July, 1840, provided only that the right of succession should be in the family of Mehemet Ali, which is continued by the present Firman, but even this was not guaranteed by the Powers concerned.

Lord Stanton, No. 11, Confidential; February 8, 1867

In February 1867, Colonel Stanton reported a conversation which he had had with Nubar Pasha, in which the latter stated that the Viceroy of Egypt had addressed representations direct to the Sultan, with the view of inducing His Majesty to grant certain concessions to Egypt that would be almost equivalent to granting absolute independence to his country.

Colonel Stanton stated that he believed the demands of the Viceroy were based upon the position held by the Government of the Danubian Principalities, and were as follows, viz.:—

1. Authority to raise the Egyptian naval and military forces to such a strength as His Highness might himself consider necessary, without any previous reference to the Porte;

2. Authority to nominate to all ranks in the civil and military services without reference;

3. The power of granting decorations;

4. The right of concluding Commercial Conventions direct with foreign Powers; and,

5. Authority to nominate Political Agents to represent his Government in foreign countries, and, finally, that the title of "Aziz" should be accorded him, instead of that of Governor-General.

Nubar Pasha informed Colonel Stanton that these demands had been refused; but added that the Viceroy was determined to press them at Constantinople, and had serious intentions of threatening to withdraw his troops from Candia should his demands not be complied with.

Lord Lyons, No. 96; March 13:

In March 1867, Lord Lyons reported the arrival at Constantinople of Nubar Pasha, the Egyptian Minister for Foreign Affairs, on a mission from the Viceroy to obtain from the Sultan the concessions before alluded to. It appears from Lord Lyons' despatch that both he and the French Ambassadors concurred in their views expressed by Nubar Pasha regarding the Customs Tariff and the legislative and judicial reforms, but disapproved of the other demands of the Viceroy.

Lord Lyons, No. 97, Confidential; March 19, 1867.

Lord Lyons subsequently forwarded to the Foreign Office certain documents which he had received from Nubar Pasha, containing the substance of the demands made by the Viceroy, which referred only to the scheme for the reorganization of the Egyptian Tribunals, the power of concluding Commercial Conventions, and the grant of powers to make laws and regulations for the internal Government of Egypt.

His Lordship observed that no mention was made in these documents of the other demands of the Viceroy, and that Nubar Pasha appeared willing to confine himself for the present to endeavouring to obtain from the Porte the powers necessary for the accomplishment of the practical reforms which the Viceroy desired to introduce.

Lord Lyons, No. 242; June 13, 1867.
Lord Lyons, No. 269; June 19; 1867.

The Mission of Nubar Pasha finally resulted in the issue of a Firman[a] by the Sultan, dated the 8th June, 1867, by which the title of "Khidev" was conferred upon the Viceroy of Egypt, and powers, under certain reservations, were granted to him to conclude Administrative and Commercial Conventions with foreign Powers, and to make laws and regulations for the internal Government of Egypt.

[a] See Annex No. 3.

A copy of the above Firman is annexed to the present Memorandum.

(Signed) ALFRED S. GREEN.

Foreign Office, August 20, 1869.

Annex No. 1.

Imperial Firman to the Viceroy of Egypt, settling the Mode of Succession to the Pashalic, and granting certain Privileges.

(Traduction.) (*27th May*, 1866.)

(Après les titres d'usage.)

AYANT pris connaissance de la demande que tu m'as soumise, et dans laquelle tu me fais connaître que la modification de l'ordre de succession établi par le Firman adressé, en date du mois de Rébiul-Akhir, 1257, à ton aïeul Mehmed Ali Pacha pour lui conférer le Gouvernement à titre d'hérédité de la Province d'Egypte, et revêtu de mon Hatt Impérial, et la transmission de succession de père en fils en ligne directe et par ordre de primogéniture seraient favorables à la bonne administration de l'Egypte et au développement du bien être des habitants de cette Province:

Appréciant d'autre part, dans toute leur étendue, les efforts que tu as faits dans ce but depuis ta nomination au Gouvernement-Général de l'Egypte, qui est l'une des Provinces les plus importantes de mon Empire, ainsi que la fidélité et le dévouement dont tu n'as cessé de faire preuve à mon égard, et voulant te donner un témoignage éclatant de la confiance pleine et entière que je t'accorde, j'ai décidé que dorénavant le Gouvernement de l'Egypte, avec les territoires qui y sont annexés et qui en dépendent, et avec les Commanderies de Sévakin et de Moussawa, sera transmis à l'aîné de tes enfants mâles et, de la même manière, aux fils aînés de tes successeurs:

Que si, en cas de vacance, le Gouverneur-Général ne laisse aucun enfant mâle, la succession sera transmise à l'aîné de ses frères, et à défaut des frères à l'aîné des enfants mâles du plus âgé parmi ses frères défunts.

Telle sera désormais la loi de succession en Egypte.

En outre, les conditions contenues dans le Firman susmentionné sont et demeurent à tous jamais en vigueur comme par le passé; chacune de ces conditions sera constamment observée, et le maintien du privilège qui découle de ces conditions dépendra de l'observation intégrale de chacune des obligations qu'elles impliquent.

Les immunités accordées plus récemment par mon Gouvernement Impérial, concernant, la faculté du Gouvernement-Général d'Egypte de porter jusqu'à 30,000 hommes l'effectif de ses troupes, de maintenir la différence entre le titre des monnaies frappées en Egypte et mon Gouvernement Impérial, et celui des autres monnaies de mon Empire, et de conférer les grades civils de mon Gouvernement jusqu'à celui de Sanié (second rang de la première classe) sont également confirmées.

La règle qui interdit la succession des descendants mâles des filles des Gouverneurs est maintenue comme par le passé.

Le tribut de 80,000 bourses payé par l'Egypte au Trésor Impérial est porté à 150,000 bourses, à partir du mois de Mars de l'année 1866, à raison de 100 piastres la livre Ottomane, c'est-à-dire, à 750,000 livres Ottomanes par an.

Mon Iradé Impérial étant émané à l'effet de mettre à exécution les conditions qui précèdent, le présent Firman, portant en tête mon écriture Impériale, a été rédigé par ma Chancellerie Impériale, et t'a été délivré.

Tu dois, de ton côté avec la loyauté et le zèle qui te caractérisent, et en profitant des connaissances que tu as acquises des conditions de l'Egypte, consacrer tes soins à la bonne

administration de cette contrée, travailler à assurer à ces populations une tranquillité et une sécurité entières; et, reconnaissant la valeur du gage que je viens de te donner de ma faveur Impériale, t'attacher à l'observation des conditions établies ci-dessus.

Ecrit le douzième jour du mois de Moharem de l'année 1283 (May 27, 1866).

ANNEX No. 2.

Imperial Firman to the Viceroy of Egypt, settling the Mode of Appointing a Regency on his dying before his Son has attained the age of 18 years.

(15th June, 1866.)

DANS le but de garantir, de toutes manières, le nouvel ordre de succession au Gouvernement de l'Egypte, ainsi qu'il fut établi par un autre Firman Impérial, il est mentionnés ci-dessous le mode d'après lequel l'on est tenu de procéder à l'institution de la tutelle du Gouvernement de l'Egypte, lorsque dans l'éventualité de la mort de son Gouverneur, son fils aîné et héritier se trouverait être encore en bas âge.

Dans l'éventualité de la vacance du Gouvernement, et lorsque l'héritier du Gouvernement serait en bas âge, c'est-à-dire, qu'il aurait moins que 18 ans, le Firman d'investiture sera toute de même émané. Cependant, jusqu'à ce qu'il arrive à l'âge de 18 ans, si le Gouverneur se trouvernit avoir déjà établi un tuteur et un conseil de tutelle pour le Gouvernement moyennant un testament cachété par lui, et par deux hauts fonctionnaires de l'Egypte en service actif, comme témoins, ce tuteur et ce personnel de tutelle saisiront immédiatement les rênes de l'administration, et procéderont à diriger le Gouvernement. En même temps, comme ils en référeront à ma Sublime Porte, un Firman Impérial en sera émané, les confirmant à leur place. Si, d'un autre côté, survient une vacance du Gouvernement susdit sans qu'il soit pourvu à l'institution d'une telle tutelle, le Conseil de tutelle étant composé des Chefs de l'Administration de l'Intérieur, de la Guerre, des Finances, des Affaires Etrangères, de la Justice, du Chef des Troupes et des Commissaires des Provinces Egyptiennes, on procédera à l'élection, parmi les susdits fonctionnaires, d'un Conseil de tutelle de la manière suivante:—

Les susdits fonctionnaires réuniront immédiatement, et choisiront parmi eux-mêmes un tuteur à l'unanimité, ou à la pluralité des voix. Si, cependant, les voix se partagent entre deux candidats, la préférence sera donnée à celui des deux qui occuperait les plus importantes fonctions dans le Gouvernement. Le degré d'importance est établi dans l'ordre indiqué ci-dessus.

Ainsi, vient d'abord le Chef du Département de l'Intérieure, après celui de la Guerre, et ainsi de suite. Le tuteur étant ainsi élu, et les autres Membres s'étant constitués en Conseil de tutelle, ils prendront en mains le Gouvernement, et ils s'empresseront de rapporter à ma Sublime Porte l'institution du tuteur et l'institution du Conseil de tutelle. Ce choix sera confirmé de notre part par un Firman Impérial.

Dans le cas qu'il arrive que l'ex-Gouverneur ait nommé un tuteur et un Conseil de tutelle, ce tuteur et ce Conseil ne saurait être changés avant que le terme de tutelle ne soit expiré. De même dans la seconde alternative, c'est-à-dire, lorsque l'institution du tuteur a lieu par la réunion des hauts fonctionnaires du Gouvernement, l'on ne pourra non plus changer le tuteur ainsi nommé. Lorsqu'un Membre du Conseil du tuteur vient à mourir, on choisira un autre à sa place parmi les hauts fonctionnaires du Gouvernement, et si le tuteur lui-même vient à mourir on choisira un à sa place de la manière susindiquée, dans le Conseil de tutelle, substituant à celui-ci un des hauts fonctionnaires du Gouvernement.

Lorsque l'héritier arrive à l'âge de dix-huit ans, étant alors majeur, saisira les rênes de l'Administration et gouvernera comme son prédécesseur. Ceci étant confirmé par ma volonté Impériale et revêtu de mon Hatti-Sheriff, le présent Firman fut conséquemment émané le 2 Safer, 1283 (15 Juin, 1866).

ANNEX No. 3.

Firman addressed to the Viceroy of Egypt, dated 5 Sefer, 1284 (June 8, 1867).

(Translation.)

To my illustrious Vizier Ismail Pasha, who now holds the rank of Grand Vizier, with the title of "Khidev" of Egypt, and who is decorated with the orders of the Medjidié and Osmanié of the First Class in diamonds. May God perpetuate his glory, and increase his power and prosperity.*

BE it known on the arrival of this my Imperial Firman, that, as is also mentioned in my Firman granting the privilege of hereditary succession to the Viceroyalty (Kidiviet) of Egypt, those fundamental laws which are in force in other parts of my dominions shall be maintained and respected in Egypt. Now by fundamental laws are meant all those principles laid down in the Imperial Rescript of Gulhanch. But, inasmuch as the internal administration of the Province, and consequently its financial, material, and other interests are confided to the Government of Egypt, in order to preserve and extend those interests, it is permitted to that Government to frame such regulations as may seem necessary in the form of "special Tanzimat for the interior." In like manner, whilst all the Treaties of the Sublime Porte must be respected in Egypt, an exception is made only as regards the Customs duties, and as regards foreigners in matters relating to the police, postal, and transit services, for which full powers are given to thee to enter into special arrangements with foreign Agents. But such arrangements must not take the form of Treaties or Conventions having any political signification or purport. And in the event of their being inconsistent with the principles laid down above, or opposed to my original Sovereign rights, it will be necessary to hold them as null and void.†

Wherefore the question of conformity or non-conformity to these principles in matters where a doubt exists as regards Egypt must be referred to my Sublime Porte previously to such arrangements being concluded.

And when in the manner explained above any special arrangements are entered into concerning the Customs duties in Egypt, information thereof must be transmitted to my Sublime Porte.

Also, when any Conference respecting Commercial Treaties takes place between my Government and other Powers, in order that the commercial interests of Egypt may be attended to, the opinions of the Egyptian Administration shall be consulted thereon.

In proclamation of which this my Imperial Firman, dated 5 Sefer, 1284, is now addressed to thee.

No. 76.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 19.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, August 16, 1869, 6·30 P.M.*

I AM satisfied that Aali Pasha does not contemplate the removal of the Viceroy.

He thinks it indispensable to obtain His Highness' recognition of his proper position; but he certainly does not wish to put Mustapha Pasha in his place.

The Sultan's personal feelings make it impossible for him to recede, and His Majesty is supported by the unanimous public opinion of the country.

No. 77.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Stanley.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, August 19, 1869.*

INFORM Khedive that Her Majesty's Government have with great regret become convinced that he has exceeded the powers and rights conferred upon him by the Sultan; and, having a sincere regard for the interests of his Highness, earnestly recommend him to pursue a conciliatory course, and to comply with such reasonable demands as may be

* A whole string of epithets, applied to all Pashas holding the rank of Vizir, is omitted.

† "Non avenus" is more literal.

made by the Porte, and which may not interfere with the privileges he derives from the Sultan.

No. 78.

The Earl of Clarendon to Lord Lyons.

(No. 808.)

My Lord, *Foreign Office, August* 19, 1869.

I INCLOSE, for your Excellency's information, a copy of a telegram which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Acting Consul at Alexandria,* instructing him earnestly to recommend the Viceroy to pursue a conciliatory course towards the Porte; and I have to instruct your Excellency to express to Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne the hope of Her Majesty's Government that the French Government will give similar advice to the Viceroy.

I am, &c.

(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 79.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Elliot.

(No. 264.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, August* 19, 1869.

I APPROVE the language which your Excellency held to the Secretary of Prince Halim respecting the affairs of Egypt, as reported in your despatch No. 331 of the 5th instant.

I am, &c.

(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 80.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 20.)

(No. 340.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, August* 8, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a translation of the letter that has been addressed by the Grand Vizier to the Viceroy of Egypt, asking for explanations of various parts of his late proceedings, of which the Porte considers itself entitled to complain.

It is unnecessary for me to recapitulate at any length the arguments contained in this important document, which must be studied in full.

They may be shortly resumed, as declaring the determination of the Porte not to allow the Viceroy to deviate from the conditions imposed by the Imperial Firman under which he enjoys the hereditary government of Egypt.

The invitation to foreign Sovereigns is represented as an infringement of the sovereign rights of the Sultan, and the excessive armaments are severely commented on.

The Porte, while desirous of seeing Egypt enjoy its privileges within their legitimate limits, will never, it is declared, allow its ties with the Empire to be weakened.

The immense cost of iron-clad ships, and all kinds of armaments—heavier than the country can bear—will not, it is said, be permitted.

The Viceroy is assured that, as long as he confines himself to the conditions attached to his privileges, he may calculate on the goodwill of the Sultan; those conditions are to be found in the Firmans, and it is considered unnecessary to recapitulate them: but, as it is impossible for the Imperial Government to renounce any one of the dispositions contained in those Firmans, the Porte would with regret see itself forced to appeal to them, whenever it may become necessary to take measures for re-establishing their limits and for repressing acts contrary to them.

Consequently, by order of the Sultan, the Grand Vizier invites the Viceroy to make a plain and categorical answer, and to give the necessary guarantees for the future.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

* No 77.

Inclosure in No. 80.

The Grand Vizier to the Viceroy of Egypt.

21 *Rebi-ul-Akhir*, 1286.

VOTRE Altesse connaît déjà toutes les rumeurs et les appréciations diverses auxquelles le but principal et l'objet essentiel de son voyage en Europe n'avaient pas manqué de donner lieu, soit dans la presse, soit au sein des Cabinets.

Au moment même où ces bruits venaient à circuler partout, une explication franche et loyale nous a paru le seul moyen propre à écarter tous les doutes et toutes les difficultés que ces rumeurs pouvaient faire naître; je viens donc, par ordre de notre auguste Maître, et profitant du récent retour de votre Altesse en Egypte, l'entretenir de ce qui suit.

La haute confiance et la bienveillance de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan à l'égard de votre Altesse ont été constatées par plus d'une preuve ostensible et matérielle pour que nous ayons besoin d'y revenir et nous y étendre.

A une époque où il se trouvait au milieu de complications politiques de la plus haute gravité, le Gouvernement Impérial ne s'était point refusé, tout en les modifiant, à donner suite aux diverses demandes que votre Altesse avait formulées et qui ne paraissaient point aux yeux du monde conformes aux sentiments de loyauté que notre auguste Maître était en droit d'attendre d'elle.

Cette circonstance et la conduite étrange des troupes Egyptiennes à leur arrivée et au commencement de leur séjour en Crète, à l'époque de la dernière insurrection de cette île, et la précipitation avec laquelle on avait procédé à leur départ, et d'autres incidents semblables, avaient été presque oubliés par Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, et cela dans le seul but de donner à Son Altesse une nouvelle preuve de la haute bienveillance dont elle ne cessait d'être animée envers elle.

Ainsi, la conscience de votre Altesse ne saurait ne pas convenir que non-seulement Sa Majesté Impériale ne voulait entraver la continuation, dans les limites désignées, de sa position, mais aussi elle n'a épargné aucune aide et aucune facilité à cet égard.

La grande contrée de l'Egypte qui est placée sous l'administration de votre Altesse étant une des parties les plus importantes des possessions territoriales de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, le bien-être et la prospérité de ses habitants sont naturellement l'objet de sa plus vive sollicitude.

En conséquence et en vertu de son droit de Souverain du pays, notre auguste Maître aurait dû exercer une surveillance sur des dépenses qui pèsent si lourdement sur le présent comme sur l'avenir de l'Egypte. Si cette surveillance n'a pas été exercée, si les autres droits et devoirs déterminés par les Firmans Impériaux qui ont confié à la famille de votre Altesse l'administration héréditaire de l'Egypte n'ont pas été invoqués, c'est, non pas parce que Sa Majesté ait entendu renoncer à aucun de ses droits et devoirs, mais c'est uniquement parce que Sa Majesté était convaincue que votre Altesse, dans sa haute sagesse, n'abuserait pas de ce laisser-aller, et, appréciant les bienfaits dont elle était l'objet, elle ne s'écarterait jamais du chemin de la fidélité et du dévouement.

C'est au moment où cette conviction existait dans toute sa force, et où la bienveillance de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan à l'égard de votre Altesse continuait et augmentait de jour en jour, que le projet du voyage de votre Altesse en Europe me fut annoncé.

Quoique votre Altesse ait bien voulu nous donner avis de son départ, elle n'a pas cru pourtant devoir nous édifier sur le plus ou moins de valeur des motifs que la voix publique assignait à ce voyage, ni nous donner une réponse quelconque aux demandes d'explications qui lui furent adressées officieusement.

Tout étonnés que nous fussions de ce silence, nous crûmes devoir attendre le moment de nous éclairer par les faits.

C'est dans cet intervalle que nous avons été informés de la visite que votre Altesse est venue, directement d'Alexandrie à Corfu, faire à Sa Majesté le Roi des Hellènes, et l'invitation qu'elle a faite à ce Souverain d'assister à l'ouverture du Canal de Suez. La nouvelle de la même invitation faite aux autres Souverains que vous visitiez a suivi de près cette première information.

Il est inutile de dire que notre auguste Maître ressentirait un grand plaisir de voir les Souverains de l'Europe, si cela leur plaisait, assister à l'inauguration d'une grand œuvre qui s'accomplit dans une des parties de son territoire, et honorer de leur bienveillance un des principaux Membres de son Gouvernement, placé à la tête de l'Administration Egyptienne.

Seulement votre Altesse est trop éclairée pour qu'on ait besoin de lui rappeler que l'invitation d'un Souverain indépendant à un pays étranger doit se faire par le Souverain

indépendant de ce pays. Le contraire touche aussi bien à la dignité de l'invité qu'aux droits du Souverain territorial.

Donc, la forme adoptée dans cette question par votre Altesse se trouve sous tous les points contraire et au respect dû aux droits sacrés de notre Souverain, et aux égards nécessaires aux augustes Princes qu'elle s'est proposé d'inviter.

D'un autre côté, il était du devoir des Représentants de la Sublime Porte à l'étranger de se mettre à la disposition de votre Altesse comme à celle de l'un des plus grands dignitaires de notre Empire. C'était par leur entremise que les relations officielles de votre Altesse devaient avoir lieu. Il semblerait cependant que leur empressement à remplir ce devoir, loin d'avoir été agréable à votre Altesse, n'a eu d'autre effet que celui de lui déplaire, et c'est avec peine que nous avons eu à constater toute la réserve qu'elle a cru devoir mettre dans ses rapports avec eux.

Votre Altesse sait mieux que personne, et il est d'ailleurs expressément stipulé dans les Firmans Impériaux, que, sauf les quelques privilèges établis en sa faveur, l'Égypte ne diffère en rien des autres provinces, et que son administration ne peut entretenir des relations officielles directes avec les Puissances étrangères.

Les Traités qui existent entre la Sublime Porte et les autres Etats, aussi bien que les lois fondamentales de l'Empire, doivent y avoir la même force et vigueur.

Malgré ces principes fondamentaux, les voyages continuels en Europe du personnage qui prend le nom et le titre de Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de l'Égypte dans le but de faire des efforts pour obtenir en faveur de celle-ci le changement des dits Traités, et de nouer avec les Puissances des négociations directes à cet effet, le grand soin qu'il met à cacher à nos Représentants l'objet de sa mission plus qu'à qui que ce soit, son abstention de tout contact avec eux, constituent autant de faits aussi attentatoires aux droits de la Sublime Porte que contraires à vos obligations, qu'on ne saurait point tolérer plus longtemps. Car il est devenu évident aux yeux de notre auguste Maître que si les Puissances chez lesquelles le respect des droits et des Traités est un principe immuable; si, dis-je, les Puissances avaient montré la moindre disposition favorable, l'abolition de nos Traités, leur remplacement par d'autres, la suppression, en un mot, des contenus des Firmans qui y servent de base à l'existence et à la durée de l'Administration actuelle de l'Égypte, était le but auquel on voulait atteindre.

Intérieurement aussi, les dépenses incalculables et écrasantes occasionnées par les commandes des vaisseaux cuirassées, des armes à feu et autres, soumettent les habitants de cette partie de l'Empire à des charges bien au-dessus de leurs moyens et les mécontentent contre l'Administration.

Ainsi qu'il a été dit plus haut, et que nous ne saurions trop le répéter, Sa Majesté le Sultan, notre auguste Souverain, animé de la plus vive sollicitude pour le bien-être et la prospérité de l'Égypte, et désireux de voir jouir cette province de ses privilèges, dans leurs limites légitimes, ne saurait jamais consentir à voir s'affaiblir les liens qui l'attachent à son Empire.

Placée qu'elle est sous le principe de la sauvegarde de l'intégrité de l'Empire, il est impossible de se rendre compte des raisons qui peuvent mettre l'administration de ce pays dans l'obligation de dilapider le trésor public pour l'achat de navires cuirassés et d'armes de toute espèce. Comme le peuple ne peut sous aucun rapport supporter longtemps la charge de pareilles dépenses aussi grandes qu'infructueuses, Sa Majesté le Sultan, qui est le Souverain légitime du pays et le protecteur naturel de ses sujets, ne saurait le permettre.

C'est une vérité reconnue partout que le luxe n'étant point la cause mais l'effet de la civilisation, le véritable progrès consiste dans l'accomplissement des réformes qui produisent cette civilisation. L'esprit juste et éclairé de votre Altesse rend donc superflu pour nous le soin de lui démontrer les conséquences désastreuses auxquelles on s'expose lorsque, négligeant les bases fondamentales, on commence par des objets qui n'en doivent être que les effets.

Le but de ces explications franches et loyales est d'appeler la sérieuse attention de votre Altesse sur des faits dont la continuation ainsi que la persistance dans la voie suivie ne peuvent se concilier ni avec les intérêts bien entendus de la province Impériale dont la bonne administration lui est confiée, ni avec le maintien des droits reconnus de Sa Majesté Impériale, qu'il importe avant tout de préserver de toute atteinte.

Nous ne doutons point que votre Altesse, dans sa haute sagesse, prenant en sérieuse considération les observations qui précèdent, ne veuille bien se désister de tout ce qui dépasse les limites de ses privilèges et de ses obligations, et, par reconnaissance pour les grands bienfaits dont elle a été l'objet de la part de notre auguste Maître, ne concentre désormais tous ses efforts à l'accroissement de la prospérité de l'Égypte et à la garantie de la vie et de la propriété de ses habitants.

A mesure que votre Altesse se renferme dans les limites des conditions mises à ses privilèges, la bienveillance dont notre auguste Maître ne cesse d'être animé envers elle ne manquera pas de s'accroître et de redoubler. Ces conditions, longuement énumérées dans les Firmans susmentionnés, il est superflu de les récapituler ici.

Comme il serait impossible au Gouvernement Impérial de se désister d'une seule des dispositions contenues dans ces Firmans, il se verra, quoique à regret, obligé de recourir à leurs dispositions toutes les fois qu'il s'agira de prendre des mesures pour rétablir dans leurs limites et réprimer les actes contraires qui pourront se produire et pour sauvegarder les droits et les traditions.

En conséquence, et d'ordre de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan notre auguste Maître, je viens communiquer à votre Altesse, sans le moindre détour et avec toute franchise, l'état réel des choses et d'attendre une réponse nette et catégorique offrant toutes les garanties nécessaires pour l'avenir et qui ne puissent pas rester à l'état de lettre morte.

(Signé) AALI.

No. 81.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 20.)

(No. 347.)

Constantinople, August 11, 1869.

My Lord,

I YESTERDAY communicated to Aali Pasha the substance of Mr. Stanley's telegram to your Lordship, stating that the Viceroy had promised to return as conciliatory an answer as possible to the letter that had been addressed to him, but that he was unwilling to come to Constantinople, where his brother and uncle are now living, and treated with honour.

I took the same opportunity of letting Aali Pasha know that I should be glad to be enabled to explain to Her Majesty's Government the meaning of the last paragraph of his letter, in which it was stated that a "guarantee" for the future would be expected from the Viceroy.

The Grand Vizier stated in reply to Mr. Pisani, by whom I sent the communication, that the reason given by the Viceroy for not coming to Constantinople is a very frivolous one, as it is not the first time Mustapha Pasha had held office under the Porte, having before this been entrusted with a higher and more important post than that which he now occupies; but that the fact is, that the Khedive is afraid of appearing before his Sovereign, being conscious of his inability to justify his conduct.

The guarantee which the Sultan expects from the Viceroy is a formal pledge to abide strictly by the conditions of the Firman of 1841; to stop the building of the iron-clads; not to increase his army beyond its prescribed number; and to countermand the order for the 200,000 breech-loading rifles; to abstain from negotiating Treaties; to observe strictly the fundamental laws of the Empire, and all the Treaty engagements of the Porte; and finally, an unequivocal assurance that he will for the future observe, to the letter, all the conditions imposed by the hereditary Firman.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 82.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 20.)

(No. 882.)

Paris, August 19, 1869.

My Lord,

THE Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne told me this afternoon that he had received a telegram dated yesterday from M. Bourée, the French Ambassador at Constantinople, which led him to hope that the irritation against the Khedive of Egypt was subsiding.

The Prince proceeded to observe to me that there were phrases in M. Bourée's previous correspondence which showed that the Porte hardly took a calm and correct view of the real state of things. It appeared that people talked at the Porte of the necessity that the Khedive should make a humble and complete submission, and that he should immediately in person follow his letter to Constantinople. It seemed, moreover, the Prince said, that it was hinted that unless His Highness gave at once full satisfaction, the Porte might have recourse to sudden and violent measures.

The Prince had, he told me, thought it right to instruct M. Bourée to discourage the idea that the Khedive could go immediately to Constantinople. There was, he said, no doubt that the sooner the Khedive could go, with the assurance of being well received, the

better; but it seemed necessary to guard against the Porte's expecting him too soon. The advice of France and England to His Highness had been that he should express his desire to go to pay his respects to the Sultan as soon as the affairs of Egypt should admit of his absenting himself. The two Governments were very anxious that he should go as soon as it appeared probable that his visit would lead to a re-establishment of cordial relations; but they had not pressed him to set out at any specified moment.

As to deposing the Khedive, abolishing the hereditary succession, or resorting to any sudden and violent measures, the Prince was unwilling to believe that any ideas of the kind were really entertained by the Porte. To indulge in them could only lead to inconvenience, and it must be remembered that the Governments of Europe were more or less concerned in the establishment of the present form of government in Egypt, and could not be expected to be altogether passive if the Porte undertook to overthrow it.

The Prince remarked, moreover, that it was not very gracious of the Porte to treat the courtesy and attention shown by the Viceroy to foreign Sovereigns as an unpardonable crime. His Excellency appeared also to think that the reproaches addressed to the Khedive for having invited foreign Sovereigns were not particularly well-timed, considering that the Empress, who was about to be the Sultan's own guest, had accepted the invitation which was represented as disrespectful.

The Prince concluded by saying that he hoped, nevertheless, that there would be no reason to revert to the subject, as he was assured that the Viceroy's answer to the Grand Vizier was perfectly respectful, and, indeed, submissive, and calculated to give the Porte all reasonable satisfaction.

I purpose sending a copy of this despatch confidentially to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople by the messenger from your Lordship's office who will pass through Paris to-morrow.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 83.

Mr. Stanley to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 20.)

(Telegraphic.) *Alexandria, August* 20, 1869.

I SENT yesterday translation of Viceroy's answer to the Porte to your Lordship and to Mr. Elliot.

No. 84.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Stanley.

(No. 45.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, August* 20, 1869.

HER Majesty's Government have learnt with much regret, from the reports which have reached them from yourself and Mr. Elliot, the particulars of the misunderstanding between the Porte and the Khedive. From the information now received they have become convinced, though with great regret, that the Khedive has exceeded the power and rights conferred upon His Highness by the Sultan. I have, therefore, to instruct you to inform the Khedive, in distinct but courteous terms, of the opinion which Her Majesty's Government have formed in the matter, and to say that, entertaining as they do a sincere regard for the interests of His Highness, they earnestly recommend him to pursue a conciliatory course, and to comply with such reasonable demands as may be made by the Porte, and which may not interfere with the privileges he derives from the Sultan.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 85.

The Earl of Clarendon to Lord Bloomfield.

(Telegraphic.)
(Confidential.) *Foreign Office, August* 20, 1869, 6 P.M.

I HAVE sent the following telegram to Her Majesty's Acting Consul-General at Alexandria, dated yesterday:—

"Inform the Viceroy that Her Majesty's Government have, with great regret, became convinced that he has exceeded the power and rights conferred upon him by the Sultan,

and having a sincere regard for the interests of His Highness, earnestly recommend him to pursue a conciliatory course, and to comply with such reasonable demands as may be made by the Porte, and which may not interfere with the privileges he derives from the Sultan."

No. 86.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 24.)

(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, August* 23, 1869

THE Viceroy's answer arrived yesterday.

It is amicable and conciliatory in its tone, but makes no engagement with regard to points complained of.

The Porte proposes to reply in civil terms, requiring from the Viceroy an engagement strictly to observe the conditions of the Firman of 1841.

If His Highness were to carry out his intention of coming to Constantinople, his presence would remove difficulties and greatly facilitate an arrangement.

Aali Pasha is strongly of this opinion.

No. 87.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 25.)

(No. 893.)
My Lord, *Paris, August* 24, 1869.

ON the 21st instant, in obedience to the instruction contained in your Lordship's despatch No. 808 of the 19th instant, I recited to the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne the substance of your Lordship's telegram to Mr. Acting Consul-General Stanley of the 19th instant, instructing him earnestly to recommend the Khedive to pursue a conciliatory course towards the Porte. I expressed at the same time to the Prince the hopes of Her Majesty's Government that the Government of the Emperor would give similar advice to the Khedive.

The Prince said that the French Government had already strongly advised the Khedive to act in the most conciliatory manner. He had, he said, reason to believe that the advice had already had the desired effect; that the Khedive had returned a very proper answer to the letter of the Grand Vizier, and that in fact the whole matter was on the point of being satisfactorily settled.

Nubar Pasha told me this morning that the Khedive's answer ought to reach Constantinople to-day. It was, he said, respectful, and even submissive, and contained full explanations on all the subjects mentioned by the Grand Vizier. He added that, in particular, it comprised a complete defence of the conduct of the Egyptian Government with regard to the Commission for inquiry into the subject of the judicial reforms.

Nubar Pasha told me, moreover, that the Khedive intended to set out for Constantinople, as soon as he should be informed by the officer whom he had sent with the letter that it had been well received. Nubar Pasha thought it, in fact, probable that the Khedive might pay his respects to the Sultan about the end of this month.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 88.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 26.)

(No. 353.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, August* 16, 1869.

I HAD a long conversation this morning with Aali Pasha upon the present position of affairs with the Viceroy, when I repeated to His Highness the dissatisfaction with which the Western Governments would see an Egyptian question unnecessarily provoked by any extreme measures being adopted towards the Khedive; and I assured him that in such an eventuality he could not count upon the same support from Her Majesty's Government as that which had brought the Sultan's Government so successfully through the late difficulty with Greece, as, in a quarrel with the Viceroy, public opinion in England would not be on the side of the Porte.

Aali Pasha intimated that a great deal of unnecessary anxiety was felt in England and France upon this subject, and that there was no danger whatever of any serious question arising, unless the Viceroy was encouraged to hope that he would be supported in assuming a position different from that to which he was entitled.

Aali Pasha expressed, as he always does, his deep obligations for the support given to the Porte by Her Majesty's Government in the question with Greece; but he believes that the wish of the Western Governments to avoid all immediate embarrassments sometimes induced them to overlook the permanent consequences of the conciliatory policy that they recommend.

He had, he said, every respect for the public opinion of England, but we must not suppose that there was not also such a thing as public opinion in Turkey, to which some deference was due; and he could assure me that this was now so clearly expressed that the Sultan would be universally regarded by his subjects as indifferent, both to his own honour and to the interests of his Empire, if he did not take steps for putting a stop to the encroachments of the Viceroy.

His Majesty shared the sentiments of his people, and it would not be possible for any Minister to oppose them.

Aali Pasha emphatically declared that there was no intention or wish to proceed to the deposition of the Viceroy; but the Porte could not recede from the demand that he should henceforth conform himself to his recognized position.

There is, I believe, no exaggeration in what his Highness said of the present state of public opinion.

The long duration of the Cretan insurrection is generally regarded as the consequence of the deference shown to the advice of the Western Powers, in abstaining from the earlier adoption of efficient measures to prevent the interference of Greece, which, when once taken, so quickly brought it to an end: and a conviction now prevails that a temporizing policy with Egypt will unquestionably, before long, lead to the most serious consequences.

Whilst this is felt almost by all, including the Grand Vizier and the Members of the Government, there are others who would be glad to avail themselves of the opportunity for obtaining the overthrow of the Viceroy; but if His Highness strengthens the hands of the more moderate by a timely recognition of his legitimate position towards the Sultan, he will, I am satisfied, have little to fear. If, on the contrary, he pursues a contrary course, it will be impossible to answer for the steps that may be adopted.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 89.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 26.)

(No. 354.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, August 17, 1869.*

YESTERDAY, when I began to speak of the Viceroy, Aali Pasha interrupted me by remarking that he wanted, in the first place, to put fairly before me the position in which His Highness stood towards the Sultan, which appeared not to be very clearly distinguished at this moment.

An impression prevailed that so long as the Viceroy sent up his annual tribute, the Sultan had no further concern with Egypt; but this was altogether a mistake.

Egypt had always been regarded as an integral part, and the most important province, of the empire. Its hereditary administration had been entrusted to a particular family, but the Sultan was as much bound to see that it was not ruined and oppressed as he was with regard to any other province.

Strangers who returned from Egypt, having only seen things superficially, reported improvements and public works that were being executed about Cairo; but they were ignorant of, or remained silent upon, the fact that those works were done at the expense of the misery and desolation of whole districts.

In ten years there had been created a public debt of 40,000,000*l.*, a sum considerably more than half the amount of the debt of the whole of the rest of the empire. It was made in a country of proverbial richness, where there was no necessity for outlay for military purposes; and it was too much to suppose that the Sultan could witness with indifference the continuance of an expenditure of which the first effects were the ruin of the country, and the next must be a financial crisis, leading probably, from the European

interests involved, to a Commission such as there had been at Tunis, which, as can readily be understood, the Porte would see with repugnance.

A reference, Aali Pasha said, to the correspondence of 1841 would show the importance attached by Lord Ponsonby, and by Her Majesty's Government, to there being a due security that the Viceroy should not have uncontrolled power of raising his revenue in a manner to grind down the people, or to put himself in the position of an independent Sovereign; and the Porte now only wished to maintain the principle so earnestly insisted upon by Her Majesty's Government, which eight-and-twenty years ago had foreseen the risk of the hereditary Government degenerating into something too nearly resembling independence to suit the interests either of Great Britain or of the Porte.

With reference to his financial arrangements the Viceroy had been in the habit of committing one irregularity which had too long been tolerated, but could not be permitted any longer, in contracting immense loans without the previous sanction of the Sultan.

I here interrupted Aali Pasha to inquire whether in this the Viceroy had not followed the practice of his predecessors.

His Highness replied, "Decidedly not. Said Pasha, when he wished to make loans, had first obtained the authority of the Porte, which had occasionally modified their conditions; the other Viceroys had not resorted to the measure, and Ismail Pasha is the first who has ventured on such a step upon his own authority."

The Grand Vizier went on to say that he had before spoken to me of the iron-clads and rifles ordered by the Viceroy, which was in such an evident violation of his duty that he need not allude to it further than to ask against whom it was supposed that these preposterous armaments could be directed.

I inquired whether it was quite certain that they had been ordered.

He said there could be no doubt whatever about it—the ships were already far advanced, and he had copies of the contracts for 100,000 rifles to be furnished from America, and of 120,000 from Belgium, Prussia, and Holland.

Nubar Pasha had denied the intention of enrolling a foreign legion, but it was pretty nearly established that enlistments for the Viceroy's service were being made in Switzerland.

Her Majesty's Government laid great stress on the importance of not creating an Egyptian question, but the Grand Vizier feels convinced that if your Lordship would examine the whole circumstances of the case you would come to the conclusion that no more certain way could be found of ensuring the occurrence of an Egyptian question than by continuing to allow the Viceroy to mature the preparations which he has commenced in open violation of his duty to the Sultan.

They can now be stopped without the smallest risk to the public tranquillity, but if allowed to go on, the time would come when, assisted by some now unforeseen complications, the Viceroy would throw off the mask.

The loss of Egypt so inevitably entails the entire disruption of the Empire that, at whatever risk or cost, it must always be resisted by the Sultan.

With Egypt would soon go the Holy Places, and with them the Sultan's position as Caliph, and hold over the Muhometan peoples.

I promised to report the Grand Vizier's language faithfully to your Lordship.

I said that I was not aware of Her Majesty's Government being of opinion that the Sultan had no cause of complaint against the Viceroy, but they thought there was a disposition rather to make the most of his acts and to exaggerate them into a significance that need not be given to them; that I could not but remark that he carefully avoided all allusion to the last Firman conferring upon the Viceroy the rank of Grand Vizier, and confiding to him greater administrative independence than he had before enjoyed.

Aali Pasha observed with regard to this Firman that Turkey is a despotic Government, in which the laws are made by Imperial Firmans as in England by Parliament; but if by experience a law is found injurious to the people it was intended to benefit, the Sultan has the same right as the Parliament to repeal or to modify it.

I next remarked to Aali Pasha that there were persons of position connected with his Government who were known to be openly advocating the deposition of the Viceroy, and were encouraging the newspapers to support it, and that such proceedings to a certain extent justified the suspicions of the Khedive that the object of the Porte is not a reconciliation but his deposition.

His Highness admitted that there was truth in what I said, and he would try to correct it.

I feel quite satisfied from the whole tenour of Aali Pasha's language, that he has neither the intention nor the desire to proceed to the deposition of Ismail Pasha; but I am equally convinced of the determination come to both by the Sultan and his Ministers

of taking measures for preventing the gradual development of the Khedive's independence.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 90.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 26.)

(No. 355.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, August 17, 1869.*

AALI PASHA said yesterday that, averse as he was to all mixed or European Commissions of Inquiry in matters pertaining to the internal administration of the Empire, he is so convinced of the correctness of his assertions of the corrupt and ruinous system followed in Egypt with regard to the taxes and finances, that he would even be willing that there should be an inquiry into them, so constituted that the European Governments might learn through their own Agents whether there did or did not exist a state of things justifying the supervision by the Porte to prevent the oppression of the people.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 91.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 26.)

(No. 356. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Constantinople August 17, 1869.*

I COMMUNICATED to Aali Pasha the substance of the remarks contained in your Lordship's despatch No. 241, Confidential, of the 26th of July, of the extreme imprudence of giving encouragement to any project to displace the Viceroy of Egypt in favour of Mustapha Fazyl Pasha. Your Lordship may be satisfied that the Grand Vizier cannot be counted among those who wish to see Prince Mustapha replace his brother. He is perfectly aware that, whatever may be said against the present Administration of Egypt, there is no reason for supposing that it would be better under Mustapha Fazyl, and this consideration will contribute to keep his Highness from countenancing extreme measures.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 92.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 26.)

(No. 357. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, August 18, 1869.*

MR. STANLEY, in his confidential despatch to your Lordship No. 26 of the 9th instant, of which he has sent me the copy, expresses his opinion that it would be inexpedient for the Viceroy to visit Constantinople at the present moment, but believes that if Mustapha, Halim, Khurschid, and Hassan Pashas were not paraded before him in posts of honour, His Highness would be glad to come here to do homage to the Sultan.

Khurschid and Hassan no doubt received appointments which they little deserved, but they have not been brought forward in a marked or ostentatious manner, as seems to be imagined in Egypt.

I have already informed your Lordship that it was before the Viceroy's journey that it had been resolved again to call Mustapha Pasha to the Sultan's Councils, but he was not given a post of the same importance as that which he had on former occasions occupied in them.

With respect to Halim Pasha, who is one of those who is supposed to be paraded in such honour as to deter the Viceroy from coming here, it is remarkable that he has never received any sign whatever of favour from the Porte, and has obtained neither honours nor dignities.

That his Highness bitterly resents his own arbitrary exile, and the confiscation of a large portion of his property by the Viceroy, is sufficiently certain; but it was very recently, and, as far as I am aware, still is, a subject of complaint with him that the Sultan had never chosen to admit him even to the honour of an audience, to which his birth would, under ordinary circumstances, have entitled him.

There is nothing in the position of the four individuals named that need be regarded as a serious obstacle in the way of the Viceroy coming to pay his respects to the Sultan; and, till he has made up his mind to do so, his relations with His Majesty are not likely to become satisfactory.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 93.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Stanley.

(No. 46.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, August 26, 1869.*

THE public prints in this country have lately given currency to reports that the Viceroy, who, as you are aware, entered on the occasion of the last loans into certain obligations restraining him from raising for a specified time any further funds in that shape, has had recourse to other expedients, in the shape of bonds, known as "Essadhats" or "Elb Taleb," to raise supplies stated to amount in the aggregate to a large sum.

The circulation of these reports must necessarily tend seriously to affect the Viceroy's credit in the European money markets, and to depreciate the value of Egyptian securities. And I shall, therefore, be glad to learn from you what foundation may exist for the reports to which I have alluded.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 94.

Aali Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Clarendon by Musurus Pasha, August 27.)

M. l'Ambassadeur. *Le 11 Août, 1869.*

J'AI l'honneur de vous transmettre ci-joint, pour votre information, copie d'une dépêche que je viens d'adresser à l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan à Vienne relativement à certaines observations que M. le Baron de Prokesch-Osten m'a faites, au nom et de la part de son Gouvernement, sur notre attitude actuelle vis-à-vis du Khidiv d'Egypte.

Vous aurez soin de conformer votre langage au contenu de cette pièce dans le cas où vous seriez interpellé sur le même sujet par le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique.

Veuillez, &c
(Signé) AALI.

Inclosure in No. 94.

Aali Pasha to the Turkish Ambassador at Vienna.

Le 11 Août, 1869.

M. LE BARON DE PROKESCH-OSTEN est venu l'autre jour me faire, au nom et de la part de son Gouvernement, certaines observations relativement à notre attitude actuelle vis-à-vis du Khidiv d'Egypte, observations dont le sens peut, autant que je puis me le rappeler, se résumer ainsi: que le Khidiv a donné à Vienne, comme à Londres et à Paris, des assurances formelles sur la loyauté de ses intentions; qu'il sera dangereux d'ouvrir une nouvelle question d'Egypte; que des soulèvements dans les autres parties de l'Empire viendraient compliquer notre position, si nous nous avisions à entreprendre une agression contre le Pacha; que, du reste, on ne voit pas de motif suffisant pour nous exposer nous-même et la paix générale à de tels dangers; que le succès que nous avons obtenu dans la question Grecque paraît à M. de Beust nous avoir rendus beaucoup trop

susceptibles en fait de dignité, et trop confiants dans notre propre force; que le Gouvernement Impérial et Royal, tout en s'abstenant de s'immiscer dans nos rapports avec le Pacha, ne pourrait pas ne pas attacher une très-grande importance aux évènements qui auraient une influence sensible sur les intérêts Austro-Hongrois.

A ces observations amicales, j'ai répondu que l'intention du Gouvernement de notre auguste Maître n'était nullement de chercher querelle à Ismaïl Pacha, ni de retirer les immunités que sa famille tient de la munificence Impériale; que la Sublime Porte serait heureuse de voir le Pacha rester fidèle à ses devoirs et réaliser, par une conduite loyale, les assurances qu'on le dit avoir données aux Puissances; qu'il fallait bien connaître le caractère de Son Altesse pour pouvoir baser un jugement quelconque sur ses affirmations; que pour le moment les faits infirmaient toutes les assurances qu'elle a cru devoir donner aux Grandes Puissances; que des vaisseaux cuirassés et des centaines de milliers de fusils à aiguille, récemment commandés en Europe et en Amérique, constituaient non-seulement une violation flagrante des conditions auxquelles l'Administration d'Egypte est confiée au Pacha, mais qu'ils étaient aussi autant de preuves qui attestent le peu de consistance de toutes ces assurances; qu'en effet, d'après le Firman constitutif, l'Egypte ne peut faire construire des bâtiments de guerre qu'en vertu d'une autorisation préalable de la Sublime Porte et qu'elle ne pouvait entretenir qu'une armée de 18,000 hommes; que ce n'est que sur la demande d'Abbas Pacha que ce chiffre a été élevé à 30,000; qu'ainsi, sans une intention bien arrêtée de dépasser le nombre légal, on ne commanderait pas 200,000 fusils à aiguille; qu'on sait vers quel but et contre qui ces préparatifs dispendieux sont dirigés; qu'à peine quelques mois s'étaient-ils écoulés depuis l'époque où Son Altesse avait reçu un bienfait personnel de la plus haute importance de la part de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, c'est-à-dire, le changement de l'ordre de succession en faveur de sa descendance directe, que, profitant des embarras du Gouvernement Impérial, elle a mis en avant une demande qui se composait des cinq points suivants: la faculté de frapper monnaie en son nomme; de conclure des Traités politiques et commerciaux avec les Puissances étrangères; d'accréditer des Représentants Diplomatiques auprès des Cours de l'Europe; et d'avoir le titre "d'Azizi Messir;"—que cette demande, corroboré d'autres faits, ne pouvait laisser place au moindre doute sur la nature et la portée des sentiments dont Son Altesse est animée; que les efforts constants de Son Altesse de nouer des rapports diplomatiques directs avec les Puissances, et les sacrifices qu'elle se montre prête à assumer pour y parvenir, ne sont non plus faits pour prouver son respect pour les droits de son Souverain; que, si le Pacha ne s'est pas ouvert sur les motifs déterminants de son dernier voyage en Europe, s'il s'est borné à donner des assurances de loyauté, c'est qu'il a trouvé chez les Grandes Puissances des dispositions autres que celles qu'il se flattait d'y rencontrer; que le désir de notre auguste Maître d'éviter toute difficulté et de ramener le Pacha dans les limites de ses devoirs par des témoignages continuels de bienveillance n'a servi qu'à l'encourager et à accentuer de plus en plus la passion séparatiste qui le dévore, et qui dévore en même temps toute la richesse de cette pauvre Egypte; que l'Egypte est non-seulement une partie vitale de l'Empire Ottoman; que ce n'est nullement notre prétendu engouement de notre succès dans l'affaire Grecque qui nous fait agir, mais que c'est un devoir sacré et impérieux, c'est la considération de vivre ou de ne pas vivre, qui nous y oblige et qui nous interdit toute reculade sous peine d'un démembrement complet; que nous pouvons affirmer sans la moindre exagération et sans engouement que le danger qu'on semble redouter n'existe pas; que c'est la grande popularité du vieux Mohammed Ali parmi les Musulmans, c'est la défectuosité de notre armée alors, nouvellement organisée, qui ont amené les fâcheuses conséquences de Nésif et de Kutahie, circonstances qui, nous pouvons l'affirmer et cela toujours sans une fanfaronnade ridicule, n'existent plus; que ceux qui connaissent notre pays peuvent attester de quel côté se trouve l'opinion publique tant en Egypte que dans les autres parties de l'Empire, et laquelle des deux armées est en état d'entreprendre une campagne avec le plus de chances de succès; qu'un Souverain ou un Etat qui fait bon marché de ses droits, et qui ne les défend pas dans limites légitimes, court plus de risques d'avoir des soulèvements que s'ils se montrent décidés à ne pas permettre d'y toucher; que certes le Sultan a autant et peut-être plus d'intérêt que personne à écarter les germes de tout conflit et à ne rien faire de nature à compromettre la paix générale; que, cependant, il y a une borne à tout, et qu'on ne peut pas reconnaître un homme d'incommoder ses voisins quand il crie contre des gens qui viennent incendier sa maison.

En dehors de toutes les considérations qui précèdent, il y en a une autre qui ne touche pas moins le cœur paternel de notre auguste Souverain; c'est l'état de misère dans lequel une administration dissipatrice a précipité l'Egypte. Les impôts y deviennent de plus en plus lourds, et les produits en sont dépensés pour la construction de palais, de théâtres, pour l'entretien fabuleusement coûteux des innombrables habitants de ces palais, et pour les armements.

Cet état de choses ne saurait se prolonger sans occasionner de grandes complications intérieurs; et la soumission proverbiale des fellahs elle-même s'épuisera à mesure qu'ils verront leurs moyens d'existence absorbés par ce luxe effréné que Son Altesse croit être la base de la civilisation. Le devoir et le droit de Sa Majesté Impériale exigent de sa part une surveillance efficace. Elle remplira son devoir, elle revendiquera son droit.

On pourra nous objecter peut-être l'état encore peu prospère de nos finances; nous y répondrons en priant ceux qui feront cette remarque d'examiner d'une manière impartiale la nature des circonstances qui ont amené la gêne financière qui règne à Constantinople et en Egypte; ils verront alors la différence très-grande qui existe entre les deux Administrations. On verra, d'un côté, les exigences impérieuses de la situation, et, de l'autre, un luxe d'autre mesure: d'un côté, des efforts sérieux pour rétablir l'ordre, l'économie; de l'autre, dépenses progressives et complètement inutiles.

Vous êtes autorisé à donner lecture de cette pièce à M. le Comte de Beust, et copie si son Excellence le désire.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) AALI.

No. 95.

Aali Pasha to Musurûs Pasha.—(*Communicated to the Earl of Clarendon by Musurus Pasha, August 27.*)

(Confidentielle.)

Le 11 Août, 1869.

M. l'Ambassadeur,

VOTRE dépêche confidentielle en date du 29 Juillet vient de me parvenir. Avant d'entrer dans l'examen des détails, je prie votre Excellence de réitérer à Lord Clarendon nos vifs remercîments pour le langage plein de bienveillance qu'il a tenu vis-à-vis du Khidiv. Je crois superflu de m'étendre longuement sur le mérite des assurances que Son Altesse a cru devoir donner à sa Seigneurie.

La dernière lettre du Grand Vézirat à Ismaïl Pacha, et la dépêche du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères à l'Ambassadeur du Sultan à Vienne, contiennent le récit exact de toutes les circonstances qui ont amené la mésintelligence actuelle, et je vous les envoie en copie, afin que vous y puisiez les renseignements nécessaires pour détromper ceux qui se méprendraient sur les vrais motifs de nos réclamations et sur la valeur des assertions du Pacha.

La nomination de Moustafa Fazil Pacha au poste de Ministre sans portefeuille ne peut et ne doit alarmer, ni blesser, le Khidiv. Vous avez très-judicieusement fait observer à sa Seigneurie que Moustafa Pacha a déjà occupé des places plus importantes à Constantinople.

Il est aussi à constater que la dernière nomination n'a eu lieu qu'après une série de manques de respect qu'Ismaïl Pacha s'est permis de diriger à l'adresse de Sa Majesté Impériale. Tout le monde sait à quel point le Sultan a poussé la délicatesse et les bons procédés à l'égard de Son Altesse.

Halim Pacha, fils de Mehmed Ali, a été expulsé ignominieusement de l'Egypte. Il est venu ici réclamer contre cette mesure arbitraire comme sujet et comme Muchir de l'Empire.

Notre auguste Maître avait parfaitement le droit de se formaliser d'un acte de violence qui frappait un de ses dignitaires. Il a non seulement passé outre, mais il a même refusé d'accorder une audience à Halim Pacha, pour ne pas froisser l'amour-propre de Son Altesse.

Quant à la réunion d'une Conférence à propos de cette question, je prends la liberté de faire observer à Lord Clarendon que rien ne justifiera une pareille résolution de la part des Puissances. Il est à remarquer qu'il ne s'agit pas ici de comprimer ou favoriser une aspiration nationale quelconque, ni des exigences de nature à compromettre l'intérêt de la paix générale; il s'agit purement et simplement de mettre un terme aux caprices ruineux d'un homme qui sacrifie tout à sa passion séparatiste, de le rappeler dans les limites de ses devoirs, et de l'obliger, enfin, à rester fidèle aux arrangements de 1841. L'Egypte est presque exclusivement habitée par une population Musulmane qui n'aspire à autre chose qu'à vivre tranquille, et qui tourne ses yeux vers son Souverain légitime toutes les fois qu'elle se sent opprimée. En conséquence et sous aucun rapport, cette province ne saurait être assimilée aux Principautés qui se trouvent sous la suzeraineté du Sultan. Si les Grands Cabinets de l'Europe prennent le parti du Pacha, s'ils se décident à se réunir en Conférence, ce sera dans l'intérêt exclusif d'un seul individu qui ne représente que son égoïsme, et qui est cordialement haï par ses propres administrés. Non, il est impossible

que les Puissances civilisées se prêtent à une combinaison si injuste; nous ne pouvons penser un seul instant que l'Angleterre de 1869 veuille détruire de fond en comble ce que l'Angleterre de 1841 a érigé au prix de tant d'efforts. Mettre cette œuvre en péril et sanctionner les empiétements, aussi bien que la désastreuse Administration du Khidiv, serait aussi attentatoire aux lois reconnues que contraire à l'esprit du siècle où nous vivons.

Non, encore une fois, une Conférence n'aura aucune raison d'être. La question qui s'agite entre la Sublime Porte et le Khidiv se réduit à une proposition très simple, quand on se rendra un compte exact de la nature de nos demandes. En effet, qu'est ce que Sa Majesté Impériale exige de Son Altesse?

C'est la stricte observation des conditions auxquelles le privilége de l'hérédité a été accordé à sa famille. Vous savez du reste, M. l'Ambassadeur, que l'emploi des mesures de rigueur répugne à notre Souverain au même degré qu'à qui ce soit. Donc, ce n'est nullement de notre fait que ce danger pourra être provoqué. Le Khidiv a méconnu ses devoirs, il a profondément blessé son Souverain, qui l'a comblé de toute sorte de bienfaits; il ne dépend maintenant que de Son Altesse de faire disparaître tout germe de conflit, en réalisant les assurances qu'il a données aux Grandes Puissances, et en donnant à la Sublime Porte les garanties qu'elle lui demande, c'est-à-dire, une fidélité réelle aux devoirs que les actes solennels lui imposent. Le seul moyen de sauver tout, ce serait, à notre avis, de déterminer le Pacha à entrer dans cette voie.

En résumé, je ne saurais assez vous engager, M. l'Ambassadeur, à vous attacher à démontrer à son Excellence le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat pour les Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté Britannique les raisons vitales qui obligent notre Auguste Souverain à ne pas rester indifférent aux violations continuelles de l'arrangement dont je parle plus haut, et des conditions qui en découlent. La justice et un examen impartial de nos griefs nous disculperaient suffisamment, si quelques esprits mal informés venaient à nous accuser d'avoir voulu de gaieté de cœur provoquer des difficultés avec le Khidiv.

Veuillez, &c.

(Signé) AALI.

No. 96.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 27.)

(No. 899.)

My Lord, *Paris, August 26, 1869.*

THE Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne told me this afternoon that it appeared from despatches and telegrams which he had received from M. Bourée, the French Ambassador, that the Khedive of Egypt's answer to the Grand Vizier's letter had produced the desired effect at the Porte, and that the Grand Vizier was about to write an acknowledgment of it in still more conciliatory terms, and to express, on the part of the Sultan, the desire to see the Khedive at Constantinople.

M. Bourée, the Prince said, stated that the letter had put an end to the question of susceptibility, which was dangerous and difficult, and had left only practical questions which might more easily be solved. It seemed that the points on which the Porte was disposed to insist were that the Budget of Egypt should be submitted to the approval of the Sultan, that the Khedive should not contract loans without the previous sanction of His Majesty, and that he should not transgress the limits laid down by the Firmans with regard to military or naval armaments. It was also, M. Bourée wrote, thought necessary to put some check to the acquisition of landed property by the Khedive. The Grand Vizier pointed out that the power of the Viceroy was abused, in order to obtain possession of such property. The process was to render the lands worthless by depriving them of water and of the labour of the Fellahs, and then to purchase them at a nominal price. The Grand Vizier contrasted the situation of the Khedive as a landed proprietor and trader on an enormous scale, with that of the Sultan, who, like most European Sovereigns, had no property beyond his civil list. It was, the Grand Vizier said, intolerable that the population of Egypt should be ground to supply means for the luxury and ostentation of one man. As for the military and naval preparations, against whom, and for what purpose, his Highness asked, could they be made?

M. Bourée himself thought that the extravagance of the Khedive was to be attributed more to the vanity, the weakness, and the timidity of his character, than to any settled design to emancipate himself from the sovereignty of the Sultan. He was, M. Bourée stated, a prey to the cupidity of all (European contractors and speculators as well as others) who found the way to flatter his vanity. He was, moreover, afraid of everything

and everybody; of the Porte, of public opinion in Europe, of his own subjects, and, above all, of his household and his harem. A vast deal of his expense was caused by the desire, by lavish gifts, to make his women and his eunuchs feel it their interest to preserve, not to destroy, his life.

Having given me this account of the communications he had received from M. Bourée, the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne went on to say that he had desired the French Agent at Alexandria to encourage the Khedive to go as soon as possible to Constantinople. The Khedive had, indeed, desired that the European Governments should fix the moment for the visit. This, however, was a responsibility which the Prince was not prepared to take. He could not commit the Government of the Emperor so far as to make it entirely answerable to the Khedive for the success of the visit. He had no hesitation in informing his Highness that it would be desirable to go as soon as possible, but he must leave it to his Highness to determine for himself the exact moment, and the precise steps to be taken to secure his interests.

The Prince said, on the other hand, he should direct the French Ambassador at Constantinople to use his influence, unofficially, to ensure the Khedive's being suitably received, and to prevent advantage being taken of his visit to demand of him unsuitable concessions. The Prince thought it best not to enter into details, but to confine himself to enjoining the French Ambassador to use all his endeavours to prevent the Khedive being in any way humiliated, or prevailed upon to subscribe to any unfair or exorbitant terms.

The Prince concluded by expressing his earnest hope that your Lordship would give instructions to the same effect to Her Majesty's Ambassador.

I have, &c.

(Signed) LYONS.

No. 97.

Mr. Stanley to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 28.)

(No. 30.)

My Lord, *Alexandria, August 19, 1869.*

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith, for your Lordship's information, copy of my despatch of the 18th instant addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, relative to His Highness the Viceroy's answer to the demands of His Majesty the Sultan.

I have, &c.

(Signed) G. E. STANLEY.

P.S.—I have just received translation of the Viceroy's answer, which I have the honour to inclose.

G. E. S.

Inclosure 1 in No. 97.

Mr. Stanley to Mr. Elliot.

Alexandria, August 18, 1869.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to state that I yesterday sent the following telegram in cypher to your Excellency:—

"The Chief of the Viceroy's Secretariat, Tulat Pasha, leaves the day after to-morrow in a private yacht of the Viceroy with the Sultan's messenger. He carries an answer to the Grand Vizier, which I have read. It is most conciliatory and submissive. He sends Tulat Pasha as a mark of extreme respect and personal esteem for Grand Vizier, and will go later himself to pay homage. It has been impossible for him to send the answer quicker."

The Viceroy is most anxious that the purport of Tulat Pasha's mission be understood. He thought, and the French Acting Consul-General and myself fully agreed with him, that the Porte could not but appreciate his sending as messenger to the Grand Vizier to make his personal compliments, a person of rank, and who was known to be most intimate with him. He also showed consideration for the Sultan's messenger by giving him a steamer, not a man-of-war. He has withdrawn from his idea of submitting the

answer to the English and French Governments previous to sending it to the Grand Vizier—a plan I from the beginning told him was decidedly unadvisable.

It has been my duty to explain fully to His Highness the gravity of his situation, which he seems completely to have realized, and I trust his answer to the points on which explanation was desired will be considered satisfactory.

Copy of the text has not yet been given to me—indeed, could not have been—as it is not yet finished; M. Tricou and myself having yesterday separately suggested several alterations. I shall be furnished with it to-morrow.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. E. STANLEY.

Inclosure 2 in No. 97.

The Viceroy of Egypt to Aali Pasha.

J'AI eu l'honneur de recevoir la lettre que votre Altesse, sur l'ordre de Sa Majesté Impériale, a bien voulu m'adresser, et par laquelle elle demande des explications sur les interprétations données à mon dernier voyage en Europe et sur les bruits répandus à cette occasion. Je m'empresse de faire connaître le véritable état des choses.

Depuis le jour où l'administration de cette grande contrée m'a été confiée par Sa Majesté Impériale, Dieu me garde d'avoir pris une décision qui fût en dehors des limites des droits et des devoirs prescrits par les Firmans Impériaux. La pensée même ne m'en est pas venue. Tout au contraire, appréciant les bienfaits successifs de Sa Majesté et la haute bienveillance qu'elle m'a sans cesse témoignée, j'ai conformé tous mes actes à sa volonté et à ses ordres.

Lorsque Sa Majesté saura que tous mes efforts tendent à mériter sa haute satisfaction, elle me conservera, j'en ai le ferme espoir, sa confiance et sa bienveillance.

En ce qui concerne les troupes expédiées jadis en Candie, c'est sur ma demande et pour avoir l'honneur de servir Sa Majesté et de lui prouver ma fidélité et mon dévouement que leur organisation et leur envoi ont eu lieu, conformément aux ordres qu'elle a donnés.

Les dépenses de l'expédition de Candie et de l'expédition du Hedjaz, qui ont eu lieu à la même époque, n'ont point été payées par le Trésor Impérial, comme il avait été fait pour l'expédition de Crimée, mais elles ont été réglées par l'Egypte, qui a tenu à honneur de les supporter exclusivement. Cependant, ces dépenses ayant atteint, par suite du séjour prolongé du corps expéditionnaire, le chiffre d'environ 200,000 bourses, dans le seul but de se rendre compte des sommes qu'exigerait, dans l'avenir, l'entretien de ces troupes, et contraint d'établir l'équilibre du Budget, on s'est trouvé dans la nécessité de demander à fixer un terme à la durée de leur séjour. J'ai soumis la demande au Conseil, lors de mon voyage à Constantinople, et une décision Ministérielle fixa la date de leur retour, qui n'eut lieu cependant que quinze jours après l'expiration du délai indiqué. Depuis leur arrivée dans l'île, jusqu'à leur départ, ces troupes se sont, avec leurs compagnons d'armes, portées partout où elles ont été envoyées, déployant un vrai courage et montrant une parfaite soumission; elles ont contribué à sauvegarder l'honneur des armes Impériales, et bien des officiers, bien des soldats, ont été blessés ou tués, heureux de se dévouer au Souverain.

Cela étant ainsi, je ne crois pas avoir commis un acte, ou tenu une conduite, contraire à la volonté Impériale, soit dans l'envoi, soit dans le retrait des troupes; je ne crois pas, non plus, qu'on ait vu ou entendu une attitude singulière de la part de ces troupes, soit officiers, soit soldats, durant l'expédition.

Quant aux privilèges accordés il y a deux ans, je ne les ai sollicités qu'en vue des intérêts généraux du pays Impérial, et comptant sur la confiance et l'entière bienveillance de Sa Majesté à mon égard.

Dans mon voyage en Europe, j'ai accepté la gracieuse invitation que quelques Souverains m'ont fait l'honneur de m'adresser d'aller leur rendre visite, et, m'étant rencontré avec eux, si j'ai invité ces Souverains ou quelques membres de leurs augustes familles à assister à l'inauguration du Canal, c'est uniquement en vertu de la haute situation que j'occupe sous les auspices de Sa Majesté. Si ces Souverains par l'accueil qu'ils m'ont fait, m'ont donné des preuves d'estime et de considération, je le dois à l'honneur que j'ai de dépendre de Sa Majesté, et c'est un des effets glorieux de la bienveillance dont elle daigne me combler. J'ajoute qu'il est de notoriété publique, qu'en cette circonstance aucune conduite n'a été tenue qui fût de nature à porte atteinte aux droits sacrés du Souverain, droits que je mets au-dessus de tout, et dont je sais apprécier la valeur et l'importance.

Votre Altesse mentionne le déplaisir que j'aurais éprouvé à voir les Ambassadeurs de la Sublime Porte accomplir leur devoir, et elle ayance que je les ai évités, voulant leur rester étranger; cependant, je n'ai, dans tous les rapports que j'ai eu avec eux, manqué en aucune façon aux égards dûs à leur rang et à leur position. Au su et au vue de tous, j'ai rendu visite à chacun d'eux; j'ai même invité leurs Excellences Djemil Pacha et Daoud Pacha à un dîner de famille que mon fils m'a donné chez-lui, lors de mon séjour à Paris, ce qui prouve que loin de vouloir les tenir à distance, j'ai été bien aise de me trouver avec eux. Je ne doute donc pas que votre Altesse ne convienne que les accusations portées à cet égard sont également de la pure calomnie.

Quant à la mission de Nubar Pacha en Europe, votre Altesse n'ignore pas qu'il n'y a pas là de démarche nouvelle, mais que cette mission est déjà reconnue et date de deux ou trois ans; de plus, pendant chacun de mes séjours à Constantinople j'ai parlé à maintes reprises de cette question, et même j'ai obtenu du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères des lettres de recommandation pour les Ambassadeurs de la Sublime Porte à Paris et à Londres; j'en ai même adressé de vive voix mes sincères remercîments. Ainsi, la mission de Nubar Pacha n'a été cachée, ni au Gouvernement Impérial, ni à ses Représentants auprès des Cours étrangères.

En effet, les progrès tous les jours plus sensibles du commerce et de l'agriculture, et les efforts incessants qui sont faits pour les développer, sous les auspices de Sa Majesté, attirent en Egypte de nombreux étrangers qui sont appelés ainsi à augmenter leurs rapports avec les indigènes et à nouer partout de nouvelles relations. Cet état de choses occasionne naturellement un grand nombre de contestations et de litiges; aussi a-t-il été jugé nécessaire d'établir une règle fixe qui pût servir à sauvegarder les droits des parties, et à faire naître la confiance entre elles. La mission de Nubar Pacha a pour but de modifier le système de juridiction en ce qui touche les différends commerciaux, ou autres, entre indigènes et étrangers.

L'adhésion des Puissances à la réunion d'une Commission chargée d'examiner cette question, et au sein de laquelle elles consentent à envoyer des délégués spéciaux, prouve que, vu le développement du commerce et de l'agriculture, cette réforme est indispensable, et qu'en principe elle est comprise dans les limites des priviléges accordés à l'Egypte par la gracieuseté souveraine. Cette démarche est donc fait sans contredit pour arriver au moyen d'accroître la prospérité et le bien-être du pays sous les auspices de Sa Majesté et conformément à ses intentions généreuses.

Votre Altesse m'a fait l'honneur de me dire en outre, que les énormes dépenses qui ont été faites pour l'achat d'armes et de vaisseaux de guerre, et que d'autres dépenses écrasantes, faisaient peser sur les habitants du pays de lourdes charges, qui les indisposaient contre l'Administration; que leur apparent n'étant pas la cause, mais seulement l'effet, de la civilisation, négliger la cause, qui consiste dans les améliorations réelles, et commencer par l'effet, pourrait avoir les conséquences les plus dangéreuses. En signalant ce qui précède, votre Altesse m'invite à m'en tenir aux Firmans Impériaux et à faire mes efforts pour arriver à produire le bien-être du pays, à procurer la sécurité aux individus, et à garantir la propriété.

Une comparaison équitable de l'état actuel de prospérité auquel le pays est arrivé sous les auspices de Sa Majesté avec l'état déplorable dans lequel il s'est trouvé à l'époque où les rênes de l'administration m'ont été confiés, démontrera que, ne méconnaissant pas les droits augustes de Sa Majesté, et appréciant sa haute bienveillance, je me suis consacré tout entier à l'accomplissement du bonheur et du bien-être du pays, et à la consolidation du principe sacré de sécurité des personnes et des propriétés. La bonne organisation et la régularité de l'administration Egyptienne, qui a établi et fortifié dans ce pays les règles fondamentales de tous ces principes, sa persévérance à suivre la voie du progrès, étaient à la vérité suffisantes pour assurer et sauvegarder les droits légitimes de tous; néanmoins, depuis trois ans a été instituée une Assemblée de Délégués élus par les habitants et appelés à se réunir annuellement pendant deux mois. Leur mission est de rechercher les intérêts du pays, de délibérer sur les besoins généraux, de contrôler les revenus et les dépenses du Gouvernement, et enfin de surveiller la gestion de l'Administration. Cette assemblée a le droit d'apprécier et de fixer le budget de chaque année; et, selon les circonstances, l'augmentation ou la diminution sont soumises à ses observations. Il est évident que, sous les auspices de Sa Majesté, et à la grande satisfaction de ses habitants, cette institution leur assure toutes les garanties désirables.

Comme le progrès des sciences et la propagation des lumières sont la base de la civilisation, les écoles qui avaient été, pour ainsi dire, supprimées autrefois, ont été de nouveau rétablies sous les auspices de Sa Majesté; de nouvelles institutions ont été fondées, de telle sorte qu'aujourd'hui ces établissements, aussi nombreux que divers, sont complètement organisés. En outre, des élèves en grand nombre sont envoyés dans toutes

les parties de l'Europe pour se perfectionner dans les sciences et les lettres, les arts et l'industrie, dont les premiers fruits ont été cueillis dans le pays. Les faits dénotent l'importance qu'on attache à l'instruction, base principale de tout progrès.

En ce qui concerne l'agriculture, lorsqu'on s'est aperçu en premier lieu de l'aspect effrayant sous lequel se présentait l'epizootie, et ensuite de l'inondation extraordinaire du Nil qui menaçait d'une destruction complète les récoltes et la fortune des cultivateurs, on a prodigué des secours de toute nature, les mesures les plus énergiques ont été prises. Grâce aux sacrifices immenses de tout genre qu'on s'est imposé et aux sommes considérables dépensées, la prospérité générale et la fortune publique ont été reconstituées sous les auspices de Sa Majesté. Malgré ces désastres successifs, l'agriculture s'est tellement développée à la suite des travaux effectués et des mesures prises à l'époque de ces malheurs pour l'irrigation des terrains et pour la facilité des transports, que 320,000 feddans des terres en friche ont été améliorés et rendus à la production.

La fondation d'un grand nombre d'importants établissements financiers, l'augmentation considérable du chiffre des étrangers qui viennent pour se fixer dans toutes les parties du pays, et même jusque dans le Soudan, en vue de s'y livrer en toute sûreté à des transactions, le mouvement constamment progressif des ports d'Alexandrie, de Suez, et de Port Saïd, le développement des relations d'affaires en Égypte avec toutes les parties du monde, sont la meilleure preuve des progrès incessants de l'agriculture et du commerce.

Quant aux dépenses, elles ne se font qu'avec l'approbation de l'Assemblée des Délégués, ainsi qu'il a été dit plus haut. Et si on considère que—

Malgré les dettes laissées par feu Said Pacha ;

Les différentes questions et difficultés qui ont motivé le paiement par le trésor de fortes indemnités ;

La construction du nouveau chemin de fer sur un parcours de 700 milles entrepris en vue de l'accroissement de la prospérité générale ;

La prolongation des lignes télégraphiques jusqu'à Sawakin, à Massowah, et jusqu'au Soudan, ainsi que le rétablissement sur d'autres points du pays ;

Les travaux du bassin et du port de Suez et d'autres du même genre qui ont été accomplis dans l'intérêt général ;

Et enfin les sommes considérables avancées, pour lui venir en aide, à la population et celles dépensées pour le Canal de Suez ;

Si on considère, dis-je, que tout le monde reçoit régulièrement ce qui lui est dû, que les retraites et les appointements des employés sont payés exactement chaque mois, si on envisage la somme à laquelle se trouve réduite la dette, on comprend aisément que les finances sont dirigées avec ordre, sans dissipation, sans grever la population de lourdes charges, et, par conséquent, sans l'indisposer contre l'Administration.

En ce qui regarde l'achat d'armes et de vaisseaux de guerre, j'ai l'honneur de signaler à votre Altesse qu'il s'agit simplement de remplacer de vieilles armes par des armes de nouveau modèle ; à cet effet, des Commissions composées d'officiers de mérite ont été formées, soit ici, soit en Europe, depuis deux ou trois ans pour le choix et l'essai de nouvelles armes. A la suite des expériences qui ont eu lieu, une arme d'invention récente a été adoptée. Sur un rapport et une proposition tendant à faire une commande égale à la moitié des armes anciennes qui se trouvent en Égypte, autorisation a été donnée de faire cette commande. Les vaisseaux, d'autre part, qui ont été commandés depuis deux ans, ne sont pas encore achevés. Les dépenses nécessitées par ce genre de commande ont été approuvées au budget qu'on a l'habitude de présenter dans le courant de l'année à l'Assemblée des Délégués, et chaque somme a été portée sur un chapitre spécial.

Ces dépenses, loin d'être superflues, sont justifiées par l'intention sincère d'être utile à la protection du pays Impérial et à l'Empire même, ainsi que le témoigne, lors de la rupture des relations avec le Gouvernement Grec, la concentration à Alexandrie d'un corps de 20,000 hommes attendant le premier ordre ou le premier signal de Sa Majesté.

Les détails qui précèdent démontrent qu'on ne néglige pas les causes principales de civilisation. J'ai la conviction que votre Altesse elle-même voudra bien le reconnaître.

Les mesures prises ici depuis deux ans pour l'ouverture de nouvelles rues et les embellissements des villes n'ont été suggérés par les travaux si utiles exécutés à Constantinople dans l'intérêt de la santé et du bien-être public—travaux émanant de l'initiative de l'administration municipale, que j'ai été à même de constater dans mes derniers voyages et que je cherchais à imiter dans la limite des us et coutumes du pays Impérial. Le Ministère des Finances ne supporte d'ailleurs aucune des dépenses occasionnées par ces sortes de travaux, auxquels on pourvoit par les revenus de la ville et quelquefois, lorsque besoin est, par mes revenus personnels.

Ces explications franches et sincères sur l'état véritable des choses effaceront, je n'en doute pas, de l'esprit de votre Altesse la mauvaise impression causée par des accusations

injustes. L'esprit d'équité et de justice qui distinguent en si haut degré votre Altesse m'est un sûr garant qu'elle reconnaîtra que la fidélité et le dévouement dont je suis animé pour Sa Majesté Impériale sont inaltérables. De même que, si Sa Majesté a ressenti quelque indisposition contre moi, elle daignera, j'en ai la ferme conviction, lorsqu'elle reconnaîtra la vérité toute entière, mue par les sentiments de clémence et de générosité qui animent sa grande âme, me rendre et même augmenter à mon égard la bienveillance dont elle a bien voulu jusqu'à présent me combler. Du reste, après avoir terminé quelques affaires importantes qui intéressent des sujets du pays Impérial, je compte me rendre à Constantinople pour déposer mes hommages les plus respectueux aux pieds du trône de Sa Majesté et remplir envers elle mes devoirs de fidélité.

Ainsi, je prie votre Altesse de vouloir bien saisir une occasion favorable de soumettre mon intention à Sa Majesté Impériale ; je la prie également de me conserver sa précieuse amitié.

No. 98.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Elliot.

(No. 271.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, August* 28, 1869.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 325 of the 2nd instant, in which you report the communication by you to Aali Pasha of the substance of my despatch No. 232, suggesting that an invitation should be addressed to the Viceroy of Egypt to visit Constantinople.

In justice to the Khedive I am bound to say that he expressed no wish or expectation to receive such an invitation, but announced his intention of paying his respects to the Sultan on his return from the Crimea.

The term "invitation" was used in my despatch simply to indicate that some assurances of welcome would be desirable, as I had heard that the Khedive, in consequence of the Sultan's anger and other circumstances, would not venture to present himself at Constantinople.

I am, &c.

(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 99.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Elliot.

(No. 273.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, August* 28, 1869.

WITH reference to your Excellency's despatch No. 328 of the 3rd instant, in which you report your conversation with Aali Pasha regarding the relations between the Porte and the Khedive, I have to observe that steps on the part of the Viceroy towards the increase of his naval and military resources, beyond the amounts authorized under existing covenants between the Porte and Egypt, must naturally be assumed as threatening towards the Porte, if not as a direct interference with the sovereign rights of the Sultan.

Her Majesty's Government approve the language which you held to the Grand Vizier when pointing out the increased measure of independence conceded to the Viceroy by the Firman of 1866, and also the modified position in which the Viceroy was placed from the time when the Government of Egypt was made hereditary in his family. Her Majesty's Government do not doubt that the Porte is better qualified than themselves to judge of the relations which should exist between the Sultan and the Khedive, and of the rights possessed by the former ; but they claim to judge more correctly than the Porte of the effects that would be produced by a too severe exercise of those rights, and they do not hesitate to say that, if the Khedive were to be deposed or even degraded, the tone of public opinion would set strongly against the Porte, and her interests would be thereby impaired.

Your Excellency will continue to take every favourable opportunity for urging the Porte to act with moderation in their proceedings towards the Khedive.

I am, &c.

(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 100.

*The Earl of Clarendon to Lord Bloomfield.**

(No. 174.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, August 28, 1869.*

THE nature of the differences which have arisen between the Sultan and the Khedive is so generally known that it is unnecessary for me to enter into the details of the matter. I think it, however, desirable that your Excellency should be made aware of the course which Her Majesty's Government have taken with respect to it.

Regarding the question in its principal aspects, the Porte appears to have been actuated by a feeling of jealousy at the intercourse which has taken place between the Khedive and foreign Governments during his late visit to Europe, by irritation against the Khedive on account of certain steps taken by His Highness for increasing his military and naval resources, and, generally, by suspicions that the Viceroy is endeavouring to emancipate himself from the restrictions imposed by the Firmans.

Beyond these motives, the Porte has also expressed itself dissatisfied at the financial administration and reckless extravagance of the Khedive, as likely to lead to great embarrassment in Egypt.

In dealing with the matter Her Majesty's Government, who would deeply regret an interruption in the good relations between the Porte and the Egyptian Government, have taken steps, both at Constantinople and in Alexandria, to impress upon both parties a policy of moderation and conciliation. They have not concealed their opinion that any steps taken by the Egyptian Government which would interfere with the legitimate rights of the Sultan would be open to serious objection; and they would, on like grounds, consider that the Khedive should, in regard to matters of military and naval resources, confine himself to the conditions which should be binding upon him in this respect.

Acting in this sense, Her Majesty's Government have informed the Khedive that they have, with great regret, become convinced that he has exceeded the power and rights conferred upon him by the Sultan, and that having a sincere regard for the interests of His Highness, they earnestly recommend him to pursue a conciliatory course, and to comply with such reasonable demands as may be made by the Porte, and which may not interfere with the privileges he derives from the Sultan.

On the other hand, it is to be remembered that the Egypt of to-day is not the Egypt of 1841, and that since that date the Porte has made concessions to the Khedive, amongst which the one which relates to hereditary succession must be considered as materially affecting the position of the Khedive, although on certain defined conditions; but Her Majesty's Government would deeply regret if the Porte should overstrain its legitimate prerogatives and its rights as regards the Khedive.

As regards this last point, Her Majesty's Government have felt it their duty to express their opinion that any attempt in the direction of deposing the Khedive, or of degrading him, would produce a most unfavourable and mischievous effect. I only allude, however, to the subject as one which has been incidentally referred to; for Her Majesty's Government are unwilling to suppose that such a measure has been deliberately contemplated at Constantinople.

Her Majesty's Government will be glad to learn from your Excellency the nature of any steps which the Austrian Government may have considered it advisable to take in this matter.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 101.

Lord Bloomfield to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 29.)

(No. 347. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, August 24, 1869.*

I HAD the honour to receive by the last messenger, your Lordship's despatch No. 166 of the 17th instant, inclosing copies of correspondence on the relations between the Porte and the Viceroy of Egypt, and I have since received your Lordship's cyphered telegram of the 20th instant on the same subject.

At an interview which I had yesterday with Count Beust, I inquired if he had any

* Similar despatches were addressed to Lord A. Loftus and Sir A. Buchanan.

late news on the subject, and if he entertained hopes that a good understanding between Constantinople and Cairo would soon be restored. His Excellency put into my hands a telegram which had just reached him from Baron Prokesch, announcing that the Khedive's answer to Aali Pasha had made a favourable impression at the Porte, and that there seemed every probability of the differences being amicably and immediately settled.

I told Count Beust that Her Majesty's Government had been earnestly endeavouring to smooth matters between the Sultan and the Viceroy, and that they hoped his Highness would comply with the just demands of the Turkish Government, and not put forward any claims that were not founded on the concessions made from time to time by the Sultan to the Governors of Egypt.

His Excellency replied that he had also been endeavouring to restore harmony between the Sultan and the Khedive, and had also written with this view to Constantinople and to Alexandria.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 102.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 30.)

(No. 145. Confidential.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, August 25, 1869.*

THE Turkish Chargé d'Affaires has been good enough to allow me to read a despatch from Aali Pasha respecting the relations of the Porte and the Viceroy of Egypt, and instructing him to conform his language upon the subject to that of the copies of correspondence which the despatch inclosed: (1) a despatch from Musurus Pasha dated the 29th ultimo, reporting a conversation with your Lordship; (2) an answer from Aali Pasha of the 11th instant; and (3) a despatch from his Highness the Turkish Minister at Vienna of the same date, in reply to observations addressed to his Highness by the Austrian Internuncio, remonstrating against the attitude assumed by the Porte towards the Viceroy.

Conomenos Bey said that he had not communicated the English correspondence to M. de Westmann, whom he had allowed to read Aali Pasha's despatch to the Turkish Minister at Vienna, and that his Excellency had said to him, the Russian Government, while recommending moderation to both parties, could not be a party to any interference between the Sultan and his vassal, and that if it were true, as he had heard, that the Austrian Government intended to propose a European Conference on the subject, there was no probability of the Government of the Emperor assenting to such a proposal.

Conomenos Bey appears to have abstained from communicating to M. de Westmann Musurus Pasha's despatch, from a fear that your Lordship's observations on the probability of a question rendering the interference of the European Powers necessary, might influence the opinion of Prince Gortchakoff on the subject of a Conference.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 103.

Mr. Stanley to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 30.)

(Telegraphic.) *Alexandria, August 29, 1869.*

COPY of a telegram sent to Mr. Elliot to-day:—

"With reference to your telegram of the 24th I have just seen the Viceroy, who is much disquieted in consequence of fearing that, if he is to observe strictly the conditions of the Firman of 1841, it is intended to withdraw the privileges conferred on him by later Firmans such as direct hereditary succession in particular.

"He had determined and promised to go to Constantinople, but now I much fear that, unless his mind is relieved on this point, he will make considerable resistance, and there will be a difficulty in persuading him to go.

"I have received this instant your despatches Nos. 5 and 6, and will see his Highness to-morrow."

No. 104.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 31.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, August 30, 1869, 4·30 P.M.*

THE Grand Vizier's answer to the Viceroy was yesterday given to Talat Pasha to convey to His Highness. Aali Pasha assures me that it is extremely conciliatory.

He expresses the satisfaction it afforded the Sultan to learn that the Khedive proposed to come to Constantinople, and assures him that he might reckon upon receiving from His Majesty the same marks of consideration and favour as heretofore.

He requires, however, categorical assurances that the orders for the iron-clads and large amount of rifles shall be withdrawn; that the Egyptian Budget shall be annually forwarded to the Sultan, no foreign loan contracted without His Majesty's sanction, and that in all negotiations abroad with foreign Governments his Agent shall be presented by the Sultan's Representative.

The conditions respecting the ships and arms, and the foreign loans, are those upon which he will be found the least disposed to give way, but the Grand Vizier's language to me was moderate and satisfactory.

No. 105.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received September 1.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, August 31, 1869, 1 P.M.*

I SENT Mr. Stanley a copy of my telegram to your Lordship of the 23rd.

He telegraphs to me that the Viceroy thinks that if he is required to observe strictly the Firman of 1841, it is intended to withdraw the later privileges conferred, and especially the hereditary succession, and he therefore hesitates about coming to Constantinople.

I have answered Mr. Stanley as follows:—

"My telegram of the 24th has been quite misunderstood, if it is supposed that, in insisting on the Firman of 1841, the Porte intends to withdraw the hereditary succession or other privileges subsequently conferred on the Viceroy.

"The declarations required from him are those stated in my yesterday's telegram, and His Highness may come here without the slightest risk of undue advantage being taken of his presence, which cannot fail to be beneficial to his interests."

No. 106.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 31.)

(No. 362.)

My Lord, *Constantinople August 28, 1869.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Viceroy of Egypt's answer to the letter addressed to him by the Grand Vizier arrived here yesterday.

Though irreproachable and conciliatory in its tone, it contains, however, no engagement with regard to the points of which the Porte complains.

The Grand Vizier proposes to reply in civil terms, requiring from the Viceroy an engagement strictly to observe the conditions of the Firman of 1841.

If the Viceroy were to carry out his intention of coming to Constantinople, Aali Pasha is strongly of opinion that his presence would remove difficulties and greatly facilitate an arrangement.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 107.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 31.)

(No. 363.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, August 24, 1869.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Mr. Stanley informing him of the first impression produced upon the Porte by the Viceroy's answer to the Grand Vizier's letter.

It is desirable that His Highness should as soon as possible be aware that, in the matter of the armaments, the Porte is resolved to call for the strict execution of the conditions of the Firman of 1841.

Till that is agreed to by the Viceroy no more verbal protestations of loyalty will have any effect.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 107.

Mr. Elliot to Mr. Stanley.

Sir, *Constantinople, August 24, 1869.*

I HAVE received your despatches of the 18th and instant, the latter containing a copy of the Viceroy's answer to the letter of the Grand Vizier, which was put into Aali Pasha's hands by Talat Pasha on Friday last.

His Highness regards it as unobjectionable in its form and in its expressions, and therefore to a certain extent satisfactory, but he finds in it no explanation whatever of the principal grounds of complaint urged against the Viceroy.

The purchase of the iron-clads is dismissed with a remark that the cost had been sanctioned by the Assembly of Delegates; and the order for breech-loading rifles (to the number, as the Porte understand, of above 200,000) is explained as being caused by the substitution of new arms for old, for an army limited to 30,000 men.

It is most desirable that the Viceroy should become fully aware that the purchase of vessels of war and of rifles out of all proportion to the army which he is entitled to maintain, would be regarded by the Porte as a direct violation of the conditions of the Firman of 1841, and that the Sultan and his Government would be prepared to go to any extremity rather than allow it to be completed.

His Highness commences his letter by protesting that he had never thought of overstepping the limits prescribed by the Imperial Firmans, and the Porte declare themselves equally determined to abide by the arrangement of 1841.

It is, I understand, now intended to reply to the Viceroy in conciliatory terms, requiring from him, however, a categorical engagement to observe the conditions upon which the Government of Egypt was secured to his family, among which conditions will be found the limitation of the army, and the necessity of the Sultan's permission for the construction of ships of war.

The contracts that His Highness may have entered into need offer no difficulty; for I understand that the Sultan's Government, in order to facilitate an arrangement, will be ready to take them off his hands, so that no charge or forfeit will be incurred by the Egyptian Government.

An engagement will likewise be required from the Viceroy that, following the practice of his predecessor, he shall for the future obtain the previous sanction of the Porte to the foreign loans which he may propose to contract.

If the above declarations are made by the Viceroy his relations with the Porte will speedily reassume a satisfactory position, but if His Highness hesitates it will be taken by them as evidence that the loyalty professed in his letter to the Grand Vizier is confined to words.

If His Highness carries out the intention expressed in his letter, of coming to Constantinople to pay his respects to the Sultan, his presence would greatly contribute to bring about an understanding, and it is highly desirable that he should put it into execution as soon as it is possible for him to leave Egypt.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 108.

Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne to Viscount Contades.—(Communicated to the Earl of Clarendon by Viscount Contades, August 31.)

(Extrait.)

LA réponse du Vice-Roi d'Égypte à la lettre qui lui a été adressée par le Grand Vizir renferme des explications pleines de déférence pour le Sultan.

Ismaïl Pacha est sur le point de se rendre à Constantinople, et il faut espérer que de cette démarche résultera le rapprochement que souhaitent l'Angleterre et la France.

Cependant, il paraîtrait que certaines préoccupations se sont emparées de l'esprit du Vice-Roi, et que le Gouvernement Ottoman se proposerait de traiter avec lui, en dehors des points qui font l'objet des communications échangées, différentes questions concernant l'administration de l'Egypte.

On ne saurait contester que le Khedive a montré, dans les derniers temps, une tendance à outrepasser les priviléges qui lui sont acquis en vertu des Firmans du Sultan; mais il serait fâcheux que le Gouvernement Turc, de son côté, cherchât à interpréter ces actes dans un sens restrictif et à revenir sur ce qui a été précédemment concédé.

La discussion et l'accord qui interviendra ne sauraient avoir d'autre base que le *statu quo*.

Il y a lieu de se demander, dans l'état des choses, si la Porte ne voudra pas exercer, sur le Vice-Roi, une pression exagérée allant jusqu'à entamer sa situation.

L'Angleterre et la France, par le conseil qu'elles ont déjà donné au Vice-Roi de se rendre à Constantinople, ont implicitement contracté envers lui l'obligation morale de l'aider, au besoin, de leur influence, dans cette conjoncture.

Ce serait, de leur part, un acte de bon vouloir en parfait accord avec l'intérêt qui s'attache à ce que le rapprochement s'accomplisse dans des conditions équitables seules propres à en assurer la durée.

Des instructions dans ce sens ont été envoyées à l'Ambassadeur de France à Constantinople.

Le Gouvernement de la Reine n'est-il pas d'avis d'en adresser de semblables au Right Honourable H. G. Elliot?

No. 109.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Elliot.

(No. 280.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September 2, 1869.*

I HAVE received your despatch No. 354 of the 17th of August, reporting a conversation with Aali Pasha respecting the relations between the Porte and the Viceroy of Egypt.

I have already desired you by telegraph to remind the Grand Vizier, with reference to the comparison which he drew between a Firman and an Act of Parliament, as being both liable to repeal or modification, that the Firman of 1866 having been officially communicated to the Powers as the complement of that of 1841, should not, any more than the latter, be annulled without their knowledge.

You will further remind Aali Pasha that one of the grounds on which the concessions made to the Viceroy in the Firman of 1866 are stated to have been made, is the praiseworthy manner in which the Viceroy had administered the Government of Egypt.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 110.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Elliot.

(No. 281.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September 2, 1869*

I INCLOSE, for your information, copies of a despatch from Lord Lyons, and of my reply,* respecting the relations between the Porte and the Viceroy of Egypt; and, in conformity with what I have stated in the latter, I have to instruct your Excellency to co-operate unofficially with the French Ambassador, with a view to insure the Khedive being suitably received at Constantinople, and to prevent advantage being taken of his visit to demand of him unsuitable concessions.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

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* Nos. 96 and 113.

No. 111.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Elliot.

(No. 282.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September 2, 1869.*

I TRANSMIT to your Excellency herewith copies of two despatches from Aali Pasha to Musurus Pasha,* by whom they have been communicated to me, respecting the relations between the Porte and the Khedive.

Your Excellency will perceive that in one of these despatches the Porte rejects the notion of a Conference on the misunderstanding with the Khedive. I had not beforehand heard any mention of a Conference, and Musurus Pasha received no such communication from me.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 112.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September 2, 1869.*

REMIND the Grand Vizier that Firman of 1866 having been officially communicated to the Powers it should not be annulled without their knowledge.

No. 113.

The Earl of Clarendon to Lord Lyons.

(No. 831.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, September 2, 1869.*

I HAVE received your despatch No. 899 of the 26th of August, reporting a conversation with the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne on the accounts received by the French Government from M. Bourée of the present aspect of the question between the Sultan and the Viceroy, and that the Prince had informed you that he had directed the French Agent at Alexandria to encourage the Viceroy to go to Constantinople as soon as possible.

You will inform Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne that Mr. Elliot has continued to urge on the Porte moderation in the proceedings towards the Khedive, and that Her Majesty's Government desire, in accord with that of the Emperor of the French, to give such counsels in Egypt and at Constantinople as may conduce to the termination of the question between the two Parties, by giving satisfaction to the Porte without unduly humiliating the Khedive.

I have transmitted a copy of your Excellency's despatch and of this reply to Mr. Elliot, and I have instructed him to co-operate unofficially with the French Ambassador, with a view to insure the Khedive being suitably received at Constantinople, and to prevent advantage being taken of his visit to demand of him unsuitable concessions.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 114.

The Earl of Clarendon to Lord Lyons.

(No. 833.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, September 2, 1869.*

I HAVE to instruct your Excellency to communicate to Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne Mr. Elliot's despatch No. 355 of the 17th of August, reporting that Aali Pasha had stated to him that he was so convinced of the corrupt and ruinous system followed in Egypt with regard to the taxes and finances, that he would be willing that there should be an inquiry into them so constituted that the European Governments might learn through their own Agents whether there did or did not exist a state of things justifying the supervision of the Porte to prevent the oppression of the people.

You will inform Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne that I propose to reply to Mr. Elliot

* Nos. 94 and 95.

that Her Majesty's Government cannot concur in the necessity of such a measure, with its obvious inconveniences, though they earnestly hope that the pressure under which the Egyptian people are said to labour may be redressed.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 115.

The Earl of Clarendon to Lord Bloomfield.

(No. 179. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, September 2, 1869.*

I HAVE received and laid before the Queen your Excellency's despatch No. 347, marked Confidential, of the 24th ultimo, reporting a conversation which you have had with Count Beust on the relations between the Porte and the Viceroy of Egypt; and I have to express to you my approval of the language you held to Count Beust on this subject.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 116.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Stanley.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September 2, 1869.*

HER MAJESTY'S Ambassador at Constantinople says that there is nothing in the position of Khurschid, Hassan, Mustapha, and Halim Pashas at Constantinople that need be regarded as a serious obstacle in the way of the Viceroy coming to pay his respects to the Sultan; and till he has made up his mind to do so, his relations with His Majesty are not likely to become satisfactory.

No. 117.

Lord Bloomfield to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received September 3.)

(No. 361. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna August 31, 1869.*

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch No. 171 of the 24th instant, marked Most Confidential, and inclosing copies of correspondence on the subject of the relations between the Porte and the Khedive of Egypt, I have inquired of Count Beust if he had received any late intelligence from Constantinople or Alexandria respecting this affair. His Excellency replied that he hoped the misunderstanding was on the point of being cleared up.

I told him that Her Majesty's Government were doing all in their power to restore harmony between the Sultan and the Viceroy, and that it was hoped their efforts had been attended with success. Count Beust assured me he was as desirous as your Lordship could be to prevent any serious disturbance in the relations between Turkey and Egypt; he should watch the course of this affair with care, and hoped the opinions of the Great Powers which had been expressed to both Governments would lead to the restoration of a better understanding.

His Excellency said he was glad to think that England and Austria were acting in this question entirely in the same sense.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 118.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received September 3.)

(No. 925.)
My Lord, *Paris, September 2, 1869.*

THE Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne showed me this afternoon a telegram from the Acting French Consul-General in Egypt, stating that the Viceroy hesitated about going to Constantinople, because he understood that the Porte would require him to consent to submit his Budget to it, and to admit a control over the financial affairs of Egypt, which would be at variance with the additional privileges granted to him by the Sultan in 1866.

The Prince went on to say that he regretted this very much, and he told me that he had instructed M. Bourée, the French Ambassador at Constantinople, to urge the Porte not to change the *status quo* as regarded its relations to the Khedive. He added that by the *status quo* he did not mean any abuses which might have grown up, or any encroachments which might have been winked at; but he did mean all the privileges conferred by the Firmans fairly interpreted, by the last Firmans as well as the first.

In answer to an inquiry from the Prince, I told him that your Lordship had instructed Mr. Elliot to remind the Grand Vizier that, as the Firmans of 1866 had been communicated to the European Powers, they ought not to be annulled without the knowledge of those Powers. The Prince said that he had already sent instructions to the same effect to M. Bourée, and that he should repeat them.

The Prince proceeded to observe that England and France having advised the Khedive to go to Constantinople, were in a measure bound to see that the Porte did not make use of the visit to clip his wings. He should, therefore, he said, instruct M. Bourée to give his aid to the Khedive in resisting attempts to withdraw any of the privileges which had been bestowed upon him by the Firmans.

I suggested that, on the other hand, it would be well to impress strongly upon the Khedive the importance of not claiming anything not really warranted by the Firmans, and of confining himself in practice within the limits they imposed.

The Prince said that he had already given the Khedive this advice, and that he was ready to give it anew. He appeared, however, to apprehend that, if the Viceroy once got to Constantinople, he would be disposed to yield too much rather than too little, and would consequently require the support of the Representatives of the Powers friendly alike to the Porte and to himself.

I purpose sending a copy of this despatch confidentially to Mr. Elliot by the messenger from your Lordship's office, who will pass through Paris to-morrow.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 119.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received September 4.)

(No. 932.)
My Lord, *Paris, September 3, 1869.*

IN obedience to the instruction contained in your Lordship's despatch No. 831 of yesterday, I informed the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne this afternoon that Mr. Elliot had continued to urge on the Porte moderation in the proceedings towards the Khedive, and that Her Majesty's Government desired to give, in accord with the Government of the Emperor, such counsels in Egypt and at Constantinople as might conduce to the termination of the question, by giving satisfaction to the Porte without unduly humiliating the Khedive. I added that your Lordship had instructed Mr. Elliot to co-operate cordially with the French Ambassador, with a view to insure the Khedive's being suitably received at Constantinople, and to prevent advantage being taken of his visit to demand of him unsuitable concessions.

I proceeded, in execution of the instruction conveyed to me by your Lordship's despatch No. 833, also of yesterday, to put into the Prince's hand a copy of Mr. Elliot's despatch No. 355 of the 17th of August, reporting that Aali Pasha had stated that he would be willing that there should be an inquiry into the finances of Egypt, so constituted that the European Governments might learn through their own Agents whether there did or did not, exist a state of things which would justify the supervision of the Porte to prevent the oppression of the people. After making the Prince acquainted with the contents of the despatch, I said that your Lordship proposed to reply to Mr. Elliot that

Her Majesty's Government could not concur in the necessity of such an inquiry, with its obvious inconveniences, though they earnestly desired the relief of the Egyptian people from any undue pressure which might have been put upon them.

The Prince said that he entirely agreed with your Lordship in thinking that no countenance should be given to such a measure as Aali Pasha had suggested. An inquiry of the kind would, in his opinion, lead to no good; it would carry the Porte and the European Powers much farther than Aali Pasha seemed to anticipate. If they began to inquire into the state of Egypt, it might be difficult not to examine the condition of other Turkish provinces. He should at once direct the French Ambassador to reject any proposal of the kind.

The Prince proceeded to say that he was thoroughly convinced that the only prudent course for the Porte to pursue was to maintain the *status quo* with regard to Egypt. By the *status quo*, he meant the maintenance of the privileges conferred in 1866 and 1867, no less than those conferred in 1841. If the Khedive had transgressed, with regard to armaments or other matters, the limits set down in the Firmans, let the Porte accept the excuses he had made, and come to an understanding with him on fair terms. It would certainly not suit the Government of the Emperor that the established order of things in Egypt should be disturbed; neither, he supposed, would it suit Her Majesty's Government. He would not discuss the question of the abstract right of the Powers of Europe to intervene, if the Porte took strong measures against the Khedive. It could not be denied that interests had grown up in Egypt which rendered it impossible to look with indifference upon a change in the relation in which that country stood to the Porte. An Egyptian question would certainly become an European question, and the only practical way for the Porte to prevent this was to maintain the *status quo*. It was not likely that the Porte would find any strong support in Europe, if the question were brought (as it would no doubt be brought if it were once raised), under discussion in a Conference.

I observed to the Prince that we must not shut our eyes to the evidence that, in some particulars, such for instance as the armaments, the Khedive had gone beyond the powers conferred upon him, and had consequently given umbrage to the Sultan and excited suspicions, which were, to say the least, natural.

The Prince repeated that he had no desire to defend the Khedive in going beyond his proper privileges; on the contrary, he had, he said, strongly pressed upon His Highness the necessity of making his submission to the Porte and giving assurances of his being dutiful to the Sultan for the future. These counsels had already had their effect, and they would be continued. He was not, however, prepared to admit that the Porte could properly and prudently withdraw the privileges which the Sultan had deliberately conferred upon the Khedive. He added emphatically that the Firmans of 1866 and 1867 ought, in his opinion, to be maintained no less than that of 1841.

The Prince went on to say that he had already sent instructions in this sense to the French Ambassador at Constantinople, and that he should at once repeat them. It would not be necessary for him to take the orders of the Emperor again on the subject, as His Majesty had already expressed his sentiments very distinctly to him.

Referring to what I had said to him at the beginning of the conversation as to the instructions your Lordship had sent to Mr. Elliot to co-operate unofficially with the French Ambassador at the Porte, the Prince said that he should, on his part, direct M. Bourée to concert measures with Her Majesty's Ambassador in order to obtain a cordial reception for the Khedive at Constantinople, and to prevent His Highness being pressed to make undue concessions.

I send a copy of this despatch confidentially to Mr. Elliot by to-day's messenger.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 120.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Elliot.

(No. 286.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, September 4, 1869.*

I HAVE received your despatch No. 355 of the 17th of August, reporting that the Grand Vizier had expressed himself willing that an European inquiry should be made into the financial affairs of Egypt; and I have to state to your Excellency, in reply, that Her Majesty's Government cannot concur in the necessity of such a measure, with its obvious inconveniences, though they earnestly hope that the pressure under which the Egyptian people are said to labour may be redressed.

I understand from Lord Lyons that M. Bourée will receive instructions to the same effect.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 121.

Mr. Stanley to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received September 4.)

(Telegraphic.) *Alexandria, September 4, 1869.*

SENT the following telegram to Mr. Elliot:—

"In Grand Vizier's last letter, visit of Viceroy to Constantinople to render homage is made conditional on his acceptance of all five points specified in the letter. His Highness yields on the first three, but considers those relating to loans and budget tantamount to withdrawing privileges of internal financial arrangements granted by Firman of June 1867.

"He says that he has gladly followed advice from England and France, who said, no privileges conferred by late Firmans would be withdrawn; and appeals to you if those financial rights now wanted to be withdrawn were not thus granted."

No. 122.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received September 5.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, September 5, 1869, 2 P.M.*

MR. STANLEY telegraphs that the Viceroy understands England and France to have said that none of the privileges conferred by the late Firmans shall be withdrawn.

I am satisfied that there is no intention of withdrawing them, but if the Viceroy believes that the Sultan will be prevented from applying the only pressure which can be used towards him, his Highness will be relieved of a principal motive of compliance with the demands of the Porte.

No. 123.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received September 5.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, September 5, 1869, 7 P.M.*

MR. STANLEY telegraphs that the Viceroy accepts Porte's demands about armaments; but His Highness appeals to me whether those respecting the Budget and foreign loans are not a revocation of the rights granted by the Firman of 1867.

I have answered Mr. Stanley as follows:—

"By the last paragraph of your telegram of the 3rd, I am asked, on the part of the Viceroy, whether demands of the Porte respecting the Budget and foreign loans do not constitute a withdrawal of rights granted by the Firman of 1867.

"I will endeavour to persuade the Porte to modify the demand as regards the Budget; but I doubt whether Firman in question can be held to confer upon the Viceroy an uncontrolled right of making unlimited foreign loans."

No. 124.

Mr. Stanley to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received September 5.)

(Telegraphic.) *Alexandria, September 5, 1869.*

THE following instruction was telegraphed by the Viceroy yesterday to his Agent at Constantinople:—

"After submitting my telegram to the Grand Vizier, tell him that to make further concessions would compromise rights which Egypt has obtained; and to push matters to

this extremity would not be befitting his high position and sentiments, or my personal dignity. I am sure His Highness will agree with me that I cannot go to Constantinople until the question pending has been solved in the sense indicated in my telegram to Grand Vizier."

The Khedive means he cannot go, if by so doing he is supposed to have accepted all conditions demanded; Grand Vizier having answered Viceroy's proposal to go to Constantinople by enumeration of terms which His Imperial Majesty would receive from him. Report to Mr. Elliot.

No. 125.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received September 6.)

(No. 420.)

My Lord, *Berlin, September 4, 1869.*

I COMMUNICATED yesterday to M. de Balan, the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, your Lordship's despatch No. 264 of the 28th ultimo, on the course which Her Majesty's Government had taken with respect to the differences which have arisen between the Sultan and Khedive of Egypt.

In reply to my inquiry as to the opinion of the Prussian Government, and the course taken by them on this subject, his Excellency stated that the Prussian Cabinet entirely participated in the views expressed in your Lordship's despatch, and had already sent instructions to the Prussian Representative at Constantinople, and to the Prussian Consul-General in Egypt, to exhort both parties to a course of moderation and conciliation.

His Excellency said, that all the European Powers were interested in preventing any rupture between the Sultan and his vassal; and it was satisfactory to find that they were acting in unison by counselling moderation and prudence to both parties.

I have, &c.

(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 126.

Mr. Bonar to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received September 6.)

(No. 88.)

My Lord, *Berne, August 30, 1869.*

A REPORT has been for some time in circulation that considerable enlistments were being carried on in Switzerland, and especially in the Canton of Geneva, for the formation of a special body of troops for the service of the Viceroy of Egypt, and that the number of men enrolled amounted already to more than 1,000.

Having inquired of the President of the Confederation what foundation there might be for that report, his Excellency informed me that the circumstances had been brought to the knowledge of the Federal Council, though not officially, yet on so positive grounds that the Government had been compelled to make inquiries on the subject, and had recently addressed themselves, though through private channels, directly to Cairo and Alexandria for information.

By the Federal law a Swiss citizen would be prohibited from forming part of any body of troops such as I have described. He is at liberty to enter individually any foreign army, or to form part of any *bonâ fide* national troop: but a special law, of no very ancient date, forbids the formation in a foreign State of any special Swiss corps, commanded by Swiss officers, and carrying the colours of the Confederation; and it was the promulgation of that law which alone caused the disbanding of the corps formerly established in the Papal States and at Naples. His Excellency said that the enlistment of men on the territory of the Confederation for such a service would be irreconcileable with the position and principle of complete neutrality professed by and accorded to the Confederation.

His Excellency was of opinion that the reports circulated on this subject had been greatly exaggerated; that, if Swiss citizens had, indeed, been so enrolled, their number was insignificant, and they had been enlisted (professedly at least) only to form part of a body of local police, of which the Inspector is a Swiss, already existing at Cairo; but that if it was discovered that they had been enlisted for a service such as reports had described,

they would be at once called upon to relinquish it, or would be liable to penalty on their return to Switzerland.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. G. G. BONAR.

No. 127.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received September 6.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, September 6, 1869, 10·30 P.M.*

I HAVE sent the following to Mr. Stanley:—

"Grand Vizier has formally assured me that the Porte has no wish to withdraw any of the privileges conferred by previous Firmans. That in asking for the communication of the Egyptian Budget, it is not intended to control the distribution of the revenue, but to obtain an authentic report upon the state of the finances of a province forming an important part of the Empire. He adds, however, that the right to make loans cannot be regarded as one of the privileges given by the Firman. He will telegraph in this sense to the Viceroy. He likewise assures me that it was not intended by his letter to make the coming of the Viceroy to Constantinople conditional upon his accepting the demands of the Porte."

No. 128.

The Earl of Clarendon to Colonel Stanton.

(No. 50.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, September 6, 1869.*

HER Majesty's Government are of opinion that in the present critical state of relations between the Sultan and the Viceroy, you should return to Egypt without delay; for not only will your personal influence with his Highness be salutary, but coming, as you will, direct from England you will be able to press upon him more forcibly the opinion of your Government as to the course which he should pursue.

You have had the opportunity of acquainting yourself with the correspondence between the Grand Vizier and the Viceroy, with the complaints of the Porte as urged by the former, and with the excuses offered by the latter.

Her Majesty's Government much fear that, however vehement may be the feelings displayed by the Porte, the proceedings of the Viceroy have given some ground for the displeasure manifested by it; and they cannot too strongly recommend the Viceroy to lose no time in disarming the suspicions of the Turkish Government and making his peace with the Sultan.

The authority of the Viceroy rests on the Firmans issued by the Porte in 1841, 1866, and 1867, and Her Majesty's Government have not concealed from the Porte that so far as regards the privileges conferred by these Firmans, the great European Powers who were directly parties to the one, and whose approbation was solicited by the Porte to that of 1866, are entitled to expect that they shall not be abrogated or curtailed without previous communication with them. These firmans would seem to confer on the Viceroy all that is really necessary for his security in Egypt in the relations towards the Sultan in which he ought to stand; but the Porte assumes from the various acts of the Viceroy, going beyond the bounds of these instruments, that the Viceroy aims at an alteration in those relations, by which the paramount authority of the Sultan as his Suzerain would be set aside, and a more independent attitude than is recognized in the Firmans would be usurped by the Viceroy. Without imputing to the Viceroy any such sinister designs, Her Majesty's Government cannot deny that the Porte, judging from his overt acts, may have found in them some cause for this assumption; and it is on this account that Her Majesty's Government cannot too earnestly recommend to the serious consideration of the Viceroy the propriety of making, without further delay, the act of submission to the Sultan which would be implied by his repairing in person to Constantinople.

Her Majesty's Government cannot, indeed, undertake any responsibility for the consequences of such a visit; but if they are to rely on the assurances they have received, they cannot doubt that the Viceroy's reception at Constantinople will be such as he will have no reason to complain of; and that, although the Porte may require him in certain things, in which he has exceeded the privileges conferred on him by the Firmans, to observe hereafter a different course, there will be no disposition either to curtail those privileges or to make his visit one of humiliation and abasement.

Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople can of course only act officially in behalf of the Viceroy so far as the engagements of the Porte towards Great Britain are of an official character; but the Viceroy may reckon on the friendly interests of the British Embassy in his behalf whenever it can be properly exerted. The extent to which it can be exerted must in some degree depend on the Viceroy himself; but it would be a source of great regret to Her Majesty's Government if, by persisting in a course of which the Porte may justly complain, the Viceroy should render the good offices of the British Embassy unavailing or altogether preclude Her Majesty's Ambassador from tendering them.

I do not think it necessary to examine in detail either the complaints of the Porte or the explanations of the Viceroy. But the Viceroy must be sufficiently aware of the friendly interest felt by Her Majesty's Government for all that concerns him, to feel assured that in counselling him to reconcile himself with his Sovereign, Her Majesty's Government are satisfied that such a course is the one by which the tenure of the Viceroy over Egypt will be placed on a durable footing, and the administration of that country permanently secured to himself and his descendants according to the provisions of the Firmans on which it now rests.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 129.

Mr. Stanley to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received September 7.)

(No. 33. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Alexandria, August 28, 1869.*

I HAVE the honour to state that I communicated to the Viceroy the purport of your Lordship's telegram of the 19th instant.

His Highness seemed to take much to heart the view entertained by Her Majesty's Government that he had exceeded the powers granted to him by the Sultan, and went into a long explanation of his conduct during the last two years, much in the tenor of his answer to the Grand Vizier's letter.

He would gladly comply with all reasonable demands of the Porte, but wished to know what direct charge had been made against him which he had not satisfactorily answered; he admitted that he was perhaps to blame for having invited the King of the Greeks, but said he did not know he was at Corfu, and would not have gone there had he known it, and added that the invitation to Egypt arose naturally out of conversation, the King having expressed a wish to be present at the opening of the Suez Canal.

He said that he had received from the Sultan personally his approbation for ordering the iron-clads and guns, but that as His Majesty now ignored this sanction he could not remind him of it.

He also told me confidentially that he believed many of the charges against him were fomented by the personal animosity of one man, the Turkish Ambassador at Vienna, who wanted to force him to buy from him at a fabulous price some worthless portraits of some Sultans of Turkey. The Ambassador was backed by Tefer Pasha, who represented the portraits as of the greatest artistic value.

He made a stand against being so imposed upon, and at length, on the advice of Nubar Pasha, who styled them daubs, he positively declined to purchase them. Hence much of the animosity against Nubar Pasha, who had also offended by having declined previous overtures to leave the Viceroy's service.

As to the proposed alterations in the judicial system of Egypt, he said that England had been the first nation to recognize the desirability of them, that he did not think he was in any way trenching on the prerogatives of the Porte in having initiated these alterations; that even did he wish it, the Powers who desired the maintenance of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire would not consent to any alterations which would impair those prerogatives; and that the continually increasing commerce in European hands, which he hoped with the spread of education would be eventually, to a greater extent than at present, be shared in by the natives, made the existing system anomalous, and one in which it was difficult to guard against abuses and injustice, both as regarded natives and foreigners.

I may perhaps be allowed in this confidential letter to remark that the late journeys of the Viceroy to Constantinople have been most costly, the last one having, it is said, involved an expenditure of nearly 1,000,000*l.* sterling. (The annual revenue of this country may be estimated at 6,000,000*l.*)

Could the Viceroy make his visit to Constantinople as an invited guest rather than as a summoned vassal, there would be less occasion for propitiation, the cost of which would eventually fall on the natives of Egypt, who, there is no doubt, are already taxed to the fullest limits bearable; and in their interest, as in the general financial interests of the country,—unless, indeed, still greater interests are at stake,—I venture to express my hope that, through friendly mediation, it may be so arranged that his Highness's journey to Constantinople shall follow, rather than precede, a settlement of these difficulties.

I trust your Lordship will not consider me presuming in having thus given expression to my opinion, and that it is hardly necessary for me to state that I have, in obedience to instructions from your Lordship and Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, invariably urged upon his Highness the advisability of paying his homage to the Sultan.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. E. STANLEY.

No. 130.

Mr. Stanley to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received September 7.)

(Telegraphic.) *Alexandria, September 7, 1869, 12·6 P.M.*

WITH reference to my telegram of 3rd instant, I was slightly in error in saying Viceroy accepted the three first points. He accepted first two, but third, which required his Agents to be presented by the Representatives of Turkey, he accepted with reservation; that is to say, so far as it was not contradictory to the Firman of 1867, which allowed him to negotiate with foreign nations on matters not political, as was answered in his telegram of the 3rd to the Grand Vizier.

As to loans, permission was necessary before 1867, but was made unnecessary by the Firman of that year, and the Porte was evidently of this opinion by making no objection to loan of 1868. This was also opinion of lawyers in England and France to whom the Firman was submitted before the loan was taken up. The Viceroy remarks, if the Firman did not give him these privileges, what did it give him?

No. 131.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received September 8.)

(No. 942. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Paris, September 7, 1869.*

NUBAR PASHA has spoken to the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne and to me (to each apparently in exactly the same terms) about the present state of the questions between the Porte and the Khedive of Egypt.

The Khedive seems to have sent Nubar Pasha, by telegraph on the 3rd instant, a summary of the Grand Vizier's answer to his Highness's letter. The Grand Vizier, it appears, demands that the Khedive shall annul the contracts he has made for the construction of iron-plated ships, and shall limit the order he has given for muskets to the number suitable for a force of 30,000 men. In case of its being impossible to annul the contracts, the Porte offers to take them off the Khedive's hands. Further, the Grand Vizier requires that the Egyptian Budget shall be sent every year to Constantinople, and that the Viceroy shall contract no foreign loans without the previous sanction of the Porte. With regard to any negotiations into which the Khedive may enter with European Governments, the Grand Vizier insists that the Egyptian negotiator shall be presented to the respective Ministers for Foreign Affairs by the Ottoman Ambassador, who shall be made acquainted with the object and the nature of the negotiation, and decide whether or no to sanction it, and shall, moreover, be informed day by day by the Egyptian negotiator of every step taken. Finally, in answer to the Khedive's proposal to go to Constantinople, the Grand Vizier states that as soon as all these conditions shall have been settled the Sultan will receive his Highness.

The Khedive would seem also to have informed Nubar Pasha that he had received a communication from M. Bourée, the French Ambassador, expressing approval of the Grand Vizier's letter, congratulating him upon it, and urging him to come at once to Constantinople. The Viceroy appears, moreover, to understand that Mr. Elliot, Her

Majesty's Ambassador, is of the same opinion as M. Bourée. His Highness, on the other hand, inquires whether on such conditions it will be possible for him to go to Constantinople.

Nubar Pasha's own opinion, which he has expressed to the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, as well as to me, appears to be that the summons of the Porte respecting the iron-plated vessels and the muskets is warranted by the Firmans, and that a compliance with it would be no injury to Egypt.

The demand to submit the Budget to the Porte, and to obtain its sanction to loans, Nubar Pasha considers to be at variance with the Firman of 1867, which declares that, "inasmuch as the internal administration of the province, and consequently its financial, commercial, and other interests, are confided to the Government of Egypt, in order to preserve and extend those interests, it is permitted to that Government to frame such regulations as may seem necessary in the form of special Tanzimat for the interior." Nubar Pasha seems also to think that the intervention of the Porte in the financial affairs of Egypt would be disastrous to the country; that as regards loans, the necessity of obtaining the authority of the Porte as well as that of the Viceroy would simply have the effect of increasing the expense of contracting them, and would consequently augment the burthens of Egypt. As to the Budget, Nubar Pasha thinks that generally speaking means would be found of getting it accepted by the Porte; that either the control of the Porte would simply end in causing larger sums of money to flow from Egypt to the Bosphorus, as tribute, or in some other form; or it would be used by the Porte as a lever to overthrow the separate administration of the province, which in his opinion is essential to its progress and prosperity.

With regard to the check on negotiations with European Powers, Nubar Pasha observes that the Firman of 1867 confers on the Khedive full powers to enter into any special arrangements with foreign Agents respecting the Customs duties, and so far as foreigners are concerned, respecting the police and the postal and transit services. He considers that the interference of the Porte in the details of negotiations on these points would render it in practice impossible to come to any satisfactory arrangements concerning them. He cites as an instance the Commission on Judicial Reform, which would, he affirms, never have been brought about if the Porte had had the means of thwarting the negotiation at every step. On all matters not pertaining to these four points, he considers that the Egyptian Government cannot treat at all with foreign Powers, but must simply address itself to the Porte.

Being thus of opinion that the Khedive could not, without serious injury to Egypt, accept all the conditions laid down in the Grand Vizier's letter, Nubar Pasha represents that the best course for the Viceroy will be to put a stop at once to the correspondence with the Porte, by letter and telegraph, and to send an Agent to Constantinople to settle the whole question. He urges that it would be essential that this Agent should have the support of the English and French Ambassadors in obtaining the adoption of some compromise which would give satisfaction to the dignity of the Porte, without sacrificing the powers conferred by the Firmans.

He thinks that the Khedive might comply with the demands about the ships and the muskets, and that it might be possible for the British and French Governments to induce His Highness to give *proprio motu* to the Porte a promise that he will not increase the existing taxes in Egypt, nor impose any new taxes except for canals and other public works of a reproductive character.

On comparing notes yesterday with the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, I found that Nubar Pasha had held to him as to me the language, of which I have given the substance above.

Both the Prince and I agreed, that while listening to what Nubar Pasha said, with a view to obtaining useful information, we should be careful to avoid committing ourselves to him, or entering into anything like a negotiation with him on the relations between the Khedive and the Porte.

The Prince said that his principal desire was to act in entire concert with Her Majesty's Government in the matter, and that he was anxious to know what your Lordship's opinion was as to Nubar Pasha's suggestions, taken by themselves, independently of their author.

He went on to say that he had heard nothing from M. Bourée by telegraph or otherwise, and therefore could neither confirm nor explain what was stated as to his approval of the Grand Vizier's letter. If he had in fact written to approve the letter, he must, the Prince thought, have been imperfectly acquainted with its contents, for positive instructions had been sent to him to dissuade the Porte from any attempt to disturb the *status quo* resulting from the Firmans. The Prince added that he should, if possible, avoid sending

further instructions to M. Bourée until he knew your Lordship's opinion as to the course to be pursued. If, however, M. Bourée should apply for instructions, he should simply reiterate the injunction to urge the maintenance of the *status quo* as established by the Firmans of 1866 and 1867, as well as those of 1841.

The Prince thought that the maintenance of all these Firmans should be the basis of any arrangement between the Porte and the Khedive. It might, perhaps, however, be advisable to give some special advice, in a decided and positive form, both to the Porte and the Khedive, in order to prevent the continuance of a discussion which threatened to become a serious quarrel, if it were unchecked. He was, he repeated, extremely desirous of acting in concert with Her Majesty's Government, and was consequently very anxious to be made acquainted with your Lordship's views.

Some time after I had left the Prince, I received a visit from the Chevalier Nigra, the Italian Minister, who said that General Menabrea had been informed of the nature of the Grand Vizier's letter, and was strongly of opinion that the Powers should come to an understanding, in order that all might give the same advice to the parties, and effect a settlement of this dangerous question.

Without entering into details, I said to M. Nigra that undoubtedly it was very desirable that all the Powers should hold the same language, and press both the Porte and the Khedive to be moderate and conciliatory.

I have the honour to inclose a French translation of the Firman of 1867. It has been given to me by Nubar Pasha.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 131.

Firman addressed to the Viceroy of Egypt, dated April 1867.

(Traduction.)

(APRES les formules qui confèrent aux Pachas d'Egypte le titre de Khédive, le Firman continue ainsi qu'il suit :—)

Mon firman Impérial qui confère à la Vice-Royauté d'Egypte le privilége de l'hérédité directe, stipule en outre que les lois organiques en vigueur dans les différentes parties de mon Empire seront mises en pratique et appliquées en Egypte conformément à la justice, à l'équité, et en prenant en considération les mœurs et le caractère des habitants. Mais par lois organiques il faut entendre les principes généraux proclamés par la Charte de Gulkhane (garantie sur l'honneur, sur la vie, et sur les biens). Seulement l'administration intérieure de l'Egypte, et par conséquent les intérêts financiers, matériels, et autres du pays, ayant été confiés au Gouvernement du Vice-Roi, il a paru nécessaire d'accorder au Gouvernement Egyptien la permission de faire tous les règlements ou lois spéciales qu'il croirait nécessaires dans le but de développer ces intérêts sous forme d'actes spéciaux d'administration intérieure. Tous les Traités souscrits par mon Gouvernement Impérial devront comme toujours être exécutés en Egypte. Mais le Khédive a toute autorisation de conclure avec les Agents étrangers des arrangements spéciaux relatifs aux douanes, à la police des sujets étrangers, au transit, et à la direction des postes. Seulement ces arrangements ne pourront en aucune façon être promulgués sous forme de Traités ou de Conventions politiques. Dans le cas où ces actes ne seraient point conformes aux lois organiques dont il a été parlé plus haut, et viendraient à toucher aux droits de ma souveraineté territoriale, il faudrait les considérer comme nuls et non avenus. A cet effet, si le Gouvernement Egyptien venait à avoir quelques doutes sur l'intégrité ou la lésion de ses droits, il devrait avant toute résolution définitive en référer à ma Sublime Porte. Mais lorsqu'il aura fait un arrangement spécial pour les Douanes, il en donnera avis à ma Sublime Porte. Dans les Conférences qui désormais s'ouvriront entre mon Gouvernement Impérial et les différentes Puissances pour la conclusion de Traités de Commerce, le Gouvernement Vice-Royal sera consulté et son opinion sera demandée pour sauvegarder les intérêts commerciaux de l'Egypte.

No. 132.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 8, 1869.

REQUEST Grand Vizier to understand distinctly that we agree with France in considering that the Firmans of 1866 and 1867 should be maintained.

No. 133.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received September 9.)

(No. 371.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, August* 30, 1869.

AALI PASHA told me this morning that he had yesterday given his answer to the Viceroy to Talat Pasha to convey to His Highness.

It was, he said, altogether courteous and conciliatory, and he read to me the passage in which he expressed the satisfaction with which the Sultan had learnt His Highness' intention of coming to Constantinople, and conveyed the assurance that he would meet from His Majesty a continuance of the favour with which he had always distinguished him.

At the same time, however, the Grand Vizier had, he told me, intimated that it was indispensable that the Viceroy should give more explicit declarations on some points than were contained in his letter.

The most essential of these related to the construction of an iron-clad fleet and to the excessive supply of arms, both of which the Viceroy is called upon to declare that he will abandon.

It is further required that His Highness shall promise not to make any foreign loan without the sanction of the Sultan, and that the Egyptian Budget should be submitted to the Porte previous to being laid before the National Assembly.

I inquired whether I was to understand by this that the Porte assumed a power of control over the distribution of the Egyptian revenues, and I received from the Grand Vizier the assurance that this was not intended, but the Sultan's Government claimed the right of being officially informed upon the financial state of that country.

An engagement is also called for from the Viceroy that, in any negotiations he may have with foreign Governments upon the matters on which the Sultan has granted him the privilege of making special arrangements, his Agent should be introduced by the Sultan's Representative to the Government with which it is to be made, who, however, as I was told by the Grand Vizier, would not afterwards take any further part in the proceedings.

As far as I can form an opinion from Aali Pasha's language to me to day, the demands which it would be found impossible to induce the Porte to retract are those relating to the ships and arms, and to the foreign loans.

He repudiates the idea of a wish to humiliate the Viceroy or to cancel his privileges, but the points insisted on are regarded as essential to the security of the Empire, and as being altogether in harmony with the recognized position of His Highness towards the Sultan.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 134.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received September 9.)

(No. 372.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, August* 30, 1869.

I SAID to Aali Pasha this morning that the advancement and employment by the Porte of known enemies of the Viceroy had produced a very bad effect in Europe, where it was regarded as evidence of a determination to irritate and humble him.

His Highness said that an exaggerated and absurd importance had been given to the nominations of Hussan and Khurshid Pashas, the one as member of the Admiralty Council and the other of the Military Council, which, as I must be aware, were places of no sort of prominence.

It seemed to be thought in London and Paris that these two persons had received a great advance of rank, but there was nothing of the kind; upon the application of the Viceroy they had both, some time ago, received from the Sultan the rank of Ferik, or General of Division, and Feriks they still continued.

I said that this might all be so; but the fact of their having got their appointments as an intended offensive act towards the Viceroy remained unchanged. I had at once expressed my regret at it, and I was not surprised at the manner in which it was regarded elsewhere.

The appointment of Mustapha Fazyl Pasha was, I said, still more objectionable.

He, at least, was a member of the Sultan's Government, and it was a matter of notoriety that he declaimed to any one who chose to hear him on the necessity for humiliating or deposing his brother.

His presence as one of the Ministers, if the Viceroy decided to come to Constantinople, could not but be a matter of great inconvenience.

The Grand Vizier answered that the violence of Mustapha Pasha could not be disputed, but the moderation with which the Porte was acting towards the Viceroy proved how little he was listened to.

His Highness then spoke of its being alleged as a grievance that honours and distinctions had been heaped on Halim Pasha.

With respect to that Prince, out of deference to the Viceroy, the Sultan had acted with absolute harshness. No honour, dignity, or favour had been shown him; he had not even been admitted to an audience, and lived quietly at a villa on the Bosphorus since his arbitrary expulsion from Egypt and the confiscation of the greater part of his property; but this was all of no avail, and his presence here being spoken of as a designed affront to his nephew shows the degree of value to be attributed to the Viceroy's complaints.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 135.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received September 9.)

(No. 374.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, August* 31, 1869.

THE Firman of April 1867 conferred upon the Viceroy an undefined amount of independence with regard to financial matters and the right to make agreements with foreign governments upon specified subjects; and I have not failed to point this out to Aali Pasha.

A pretence to exercise direct control over the finances would be an undoubted infringement of this privilege, and the Grand Vizier denies all intention of attempting it.

The demand of the communication of the Budget appears of little real importance, and, I am inclined to think, would not be insisted upon if seriously objected to by the Viceroy.

It may perhaps be argued that the same privilege dispenses the Viceroy from the necessity of obtaining the sanction of the Porte to foreign loans; but this interpretation of the Firman would appear a forced one, and the point will certainly be strongly insisted upon by the Porte.

As a matter of policy, affecting the future tranquillity and relations of Turkey and Egypt, a check upon the Viceroy's power of raising money is undoubtedly desirable, and a reference to the correspondence of 1841 will show what a vital point it was held to be by Lord Palmerston and Lord Ponsonby, that the Viceroy should not be left the unlimited control over the revenues of the country, which would, they foresaw, put him in a position of rivality towards the Sultan, and, sooner or later, of defying him.

The same argument holds, only in still greater force, with regard to the power of contracting foreign loans, and the interests of Europe as well as of Turkey and of Egypt seem to require that a restriction should be put upon a practice which had not been attempted till the time of the present Viceroy.

The question of the presentation, by the Sultan's Representative, of the Viceroy's Agents charged with the negotiation of arrangements with foreign Governments will not, if I may judge by the Grand Vizier's language, give rise to any serious difficulty.

The explanatory nature and becoming tone of the Viceroy's letter have entirely put an end to all further question about the invitations given by His Highness to Royal personages, and other irregularities that had been advanced against him.

The Grand Vizier spoke of them to-day as incidents now passed, which, having affected the dignity of the Sultan, had called attention to more serious proceedings on the

part of the Viceroy; adding that, when these—namely, the questions of armaments and of the loans—are once regulated, the rest may be looked upon as forgotten.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 136.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received September 9.)

(No. 376.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, August 31, 1869.*

I LAST NIGHT received, from Mr. Stanley, a telegram to the effect that the Viceroy was much disquieted by the belief, that if he is required strictly to observe the Firman of 1841, it is with the intention of withdrawing from him the privileges conferred by subsequent Firmans, and especially that of the direct hereditary succession.

Mr. Stanley added, that unless His Highness' mind was relieved upon this point, there would be great difficulty in persuading him to go to Constantinople.

I have telegraphed to Mr. Stanley that my telegram of the 24th had been quite misunderstood, if it was supposed to imply that, in insisting on the Firman of 1841, the Porte intended to withdraw the direct hereditary succession or other privileges subsequently conferred on the Viceroy.

I said that the declarations required from him are those stated in my yesterday's telegram, and that His Highness might come to Constantinople without the smallest risk of undue advantage being taken of his presence, which could not fail of being beneficial to his interests.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 137.

Mr. Stanley to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received September 9.)

(Telegraphic.) *Alexandria, September 9, 1869, 1 P.M.*

I HAVE sent the following to Mr. Elliot:—

"The Khedive wishes me to say that if Porte, notwithstanding her assertions that she wishes to withdraw none of the privileges granted, still insists on presentation of Budget, permission to make foreign loans, and that Egyptian Agents are to have no relations with foreign Cabinets without the intervention and assent of the Turkish Ambassadors, His Highness will regret much the impossibility of his going to Constantinople, as he clearly expressed in his official telegrams of the 3rd to the Grand Vizier and Kiamil Bey. His Highness trusts to you that the two points concerning Budget and Loans shall be settled according to tenor of telegram, and the more so as they concern not only Egyptian finance, but foreign capital invested in Egypt on faith of Firman of 1867."

No. 138.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received September 9.)

(Telegraphic.) *Paris, September 9, 1869, 5·15 P.M.*

THE French Government consider the demand that the Viceroy shall obtain the permission of the Sultan before contracting loans to be injurious to Egypt, inconsistent with the precedent of the loan of 1868, and objectionable altogether. Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne is anxious that Her Majesty's Government should join him in strongly pressing the Porte to withdraw it. He has reason to believe that all other questions between the Porte and the Viceroy may be easily arranged.

No. 139.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received September 10.)

(No. 949.)
My Lord, *Paris, September 9, 1869.*

THE Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne said to me this afternoon that it appeared from the intelligence which he had received from Constantinople and Alexandria, that there was only one point on which there seemed likely to be any serious difficulty in bringing the Porte and the Khedive to an understanding. The Khedive was willing to give up the armour-plated ships, and such a number of muskets as might be deemed to be in excess of the number required for the army he was entitled by the Firmans to maintain. On the other hand, it appeared that the Porte might be induced to abstain from insisting upon the communication of the Budget, and from interfering with negotiations confined to the subjects specified in the Firman of 1867. There remained, therefore, only the demand that no foreign loan should be contracted without the previous sanction of the Porte.

The Government of the Emperor was, the Prince said, decidedly of opinion that this last demand ought not to be insisted upon by the Porte. It would, in the first place, be certainly injurious to Egypt. If the Porte refused to allow the Viceroy to contract a foreign loan, His Highness would simply be driven to raise money by an issue of Treasury bonds, or other more costly expedients. If the terms of a foreign loan required to be sanctioned at Constantinople, a double negotiation, attended probably with very great expenses, would be the consequence. It might, in fact, well be doubted whether any interference of the Porte with the finances of Egypt would contribute to economy or to the exclusive application of the revenue to objects beneficial to the country. Moreover, the demand of the Porte was hardly consistent with the concession respecting matters of finance made in the Firman of 1867. The loan of 1868 constituted a precedent for construing the Firman. That loan had been made without previous communication, and its validity had never been called in question either by the Porte or by the Governments or jurisconsults of other countries. For all these reasons the Government of the Emperor was of opinion that the Porte should be advised to desist from this demand.

The Prince went on to say that the Austrian Government had, he was informed, already given instructions that such advice should be pressed upon the Porte. The Emperor Napoleon and his Government were, however, of opinion that it was most important that England and France should act in entire union on this question, and they were very anxious to obtain the concurrence of Her Majesty's Government in all steps to be taken at Constantinople. The Prince had, therefore, abstained from sending instructions to M. Bourée, and waited to learn the opinion of Her Majesty's Government. He thought it, however, of great importance that the two Governments should come to an understanding as soon as possible, in order to prevent the Porte's committing itself further. He hoped that Her Majesty's Government would be disposed to join the Government of the Emperor in representing to the Porte that the claim to control the Egyptian Government with regard to loans should be given up. It would be desirable, the Prince said in conclusion, that the representation should be made to the Porte "avec insistance."

I said that I would, without any loss of time, communicate his views to your Lordship, and I asked him whether he did not think it might be well that the Khedive should go at once to Constantinople and settle the question himself with the Porte.

The Prince said that the Khedive had addressed himself to him, and had declared that he was ready to go at once to Constantinople if France would assure him that his going would not be interpreted as an acceptance of the demands, and if the French Embassy would protect him from undue pressure when he was there. The Prince had, he said, made no answer. He was not prepared to take upon himself the responsibility of advising the Khedive to go to Constantinople while things were in their present state. He was, besides, unwilling to take any step without previous concert with Her Majesty's Government.

He added that, as soon as the Governments of France and England had come to an agreement, it would probably be advisable to ask Italy and the other Powers concerned to follow also the course agreed upon.

The Prince observed by the way that he had inquired at the War Office and had been informed that in France it was considered that the proper provision of arms was three muskets per man.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 140.

The Earl of Clarendon to Lord Lyons.

(No. 858.)

My Lord, *Foreign Office, September* 10, 1869.

I HAVE received and laid before the Queen your Excellency's despatch No. 925 of the 2nd instant, respecting a conversation with Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne on the relations between the Porte and the Khedive; and I have to state to you that I approve the language which you employed on that occasion with regard to the advice to be given to the Khedive.

I am, &c.

(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 141.

Mr. Hammond to Colonel Stanton.

(Private.)

My dear Stanton, *Foreign Office, September* 10, 1869.

YOU will have seen at Paris Mr. Stanley's telegram of the 9th, which was not so encouraging as might have been desired. However, there is no use dwelling on that, or indeed on any point of our information at the present moment.

The state of affairs will change over and over again before you get this letter.

What I have more especially to say to you now, by direction of Lord Clarendon, holds good for all time and circumstances, namely, that you must impress strongly on Ismail Pasha the necessity of conforming to the conditions of the Firmans, if he wishes for the good-will of England and France. His violation of them cannot be justified. It is very evident that the Porte has always resisted the successive tendencies towards independence which the Viceroy has exhibited, and it is as much for his own interests as for those of the Western Powers that he should lay aside such tendencies; for he certainly can make no position for himself so good as that of Egypt being an integral part of the Ottoman Empire.

That circumstance protects him against all comers.

Lord Clarendon will have an opportunity while at Paris of discussing all these matters with Prince de la Tour, and the Viceroy may be sure that his object will be, and we have no reason to doubt that of France is so also, to act justly between both parties, to discountenance any disposition on the part of the Porte to oppress or injure the Viceroy, and on the other hand not encourage the Viceroy to go beyond his just claims.

I am, &c.

(Signed) E. HAMMOND.

No. 142.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, September* 10, 1869.

I HAVE received the following telegram from Lord Lyons, dated September 9:—

"The French Government consider the demand that the Viceroy shall obtain the permission of the Sultan before contracting loans to be injurious to Egypt, as inconsistent with the precedent of the loan of 1868, and objectionable altogether. Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne is anxious that Her Majesty's Government should join him in strongly pressing the Porte to withdraw it. He has reason to believe that all other questions between the Porte and the Viceroy may be easily arranged."

I entirely concur, and request you cordially to support your French colleague; the question between Sultan and Viceroy is becoming very serious.

No. 143.

Aali Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Clarendon by Musurus Pasha, September 11.)

Sublime Porte, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères,

M. l'Ambassadeur, *Le* 1 *Septembre*, 1869.

POUR faire suite à ma dépêche circulaire en date du 14 Août, je vous transmets, ci-joint en traduction, la réponse du Khidiv d'Egypte à la lettre que je lui ai écrite sur son attitude dans ces derniers temps, et la réplique que d'ordre de Sa Majesté Impériale je viens d'adresser à son Altesse.

En me réservant de vous entretenir longuement de l'incident qui a surgi entre la Sublime Porte et son Altesse Ismail Pacha, je me borne à vous faire observer que les points demandés au Khidiv sont basés sur les Firmans constitutifs de l'administration actuelle de l'Egypte, et nous espérons que son Altesse donnera, par son acceptation, une solution à cette affaire.

Veuillez, &c.

(Signé) AALI.

P.S.—La traduction de la réponse du Khidiv vous sera expédiée par le courrier prochain.

Inclosure in No. 143.

Aali Pasha to the Viceroy of Egypt.

(Traduction.)

J'AI reçu par l'entremise de Talaat Pacha et mis sous les yeux de Sa Majesté la lettre que votre Altesse m'a fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 10 courant, en réponse à celle que je lui avais fait parvenir dernièrement, d'ordre de Sa Majesté, pour lui donner et demander diverses explications. Il existe deux points importants, je n'ai pas besoin de les signaler à votre Altesse, ayant trait au caractère de souveraineté dont Sa Majesté est investie; l'un est le soin de développer le bien-être, la sécurité de ses fidèles sujets, ainsi que l'affermissement des bases de leur richesse et de leur repos; l'autre, la haute obligation pour Sa Majesté de sauvegarder intégralement les droits légitimes de sa souveraineté. C'est donc pour elle une nécessité, conséquence incontestable de cette règle générale, de porter son attention et sa vigilance sur la fidèle exécution de ces mêmes obligations, et sur la bonne administration de l'Egypte, l'une des parties les plus importantes de l'Empire.

Il est incontestable que la plupart des difficultés, contestations, vexations, ou désastres qui surviennent, naissent du manque d'une entente franche et suffisamment claire sur le mode de la mise en pratique du droit et du devoir. Quoique ce raisonnement n'ait aucun besoin d'être appuyé par des preuves, cependant des événements qui se produisent de temps à autre à propos de l'administration de l'Egypte, et qui viennent occuper le monde, en confirment sa vérité. D'autre part, comme l'Egypte est sous tous les rapports le point le plus important pour l'Empire, il s'en suit qu'il est hors du pouvoir de la Sublime Porte de consentir à l'affaiblissement et à l'annulation d'aucune des conditions fondées par les Firmans Impériaux. En conséquence la manque d'une entente sur le mode de l'application de ces conditions de la part de votre Altesse fait naître des difficultés de plus d'un genre.

Ainsi l'entente sur la manière d'exécuter les conditions établies étant d'un intérêt capital et devant dans l'avenir écarter tout danger, le sens de la lettre de votre Altesse facilitant, d'ailleurs, la solution de cette importante question, je m'empresse de vous faire connaître avec un vif plaisir que Sa Majesté a daigné accueillir avec satisfaction les assurances de votre Altesse à ce sujet, comme aussi le témoignage de son entière fidélité envers elle et de sa ferme intention de ne pas sortir du cercle fixé à ses devoirs.

Si les considérations développées dans ma précédente lettre, au lieu d'être exposées avec franchise et sans voile, eussent été dissimulées, il en serait résulté dans les rapports une absence de confiance et de nombreux inconvénients; mais, comme dans les affaires d'État d'une importance fondamentale, le premier des devoirs est d'écarter les personalités et de ne s'occuper que des affaires elles-mêmes, je n'ai pas douté un instant que votre Altesse, dans sa perspicacité, ne reconnût entièrement que les points spécifiés dans ma lettre étaient des plus sérieux pour le Gouvernement, et que c'était un devoir sacré pour Sa Majesté de les défendre dans le présent et dans l'avenir, contre tout ce qui pourrait les affaiblir ou les annuler.

La réponse de votre Altesse confirme cette conviction ; la déclaration que votre Altesse est prête à effacer toute trace de la situation fâcheuse qui s'est produite pour telles ou telles causes depuis un certain temps, et qu'elle n'admet pas même l'idée de dépasser en quoi que ce soit la limite de ses devoirs et de ses priviléges, cette déclaration, dis-je, a augmenté et renouvelé la bienveillance de Sa Majesté pour vous, et elle a jugé convenable de fournir à votre Altesse le moyen de réaliser les bonnes dispositions et les sentiments loyaux manifestés par elle, afin de faire disparaître ainsi les souvenirs regrettables qu'autant que vous, elle désire voir disparaître complètement.

La voie la plus sûre pour atteindre ce but étant, selon le principe invoqué plus haut, la complète exécution des termes précis des Firmans Impériaux, je m'empresse d'indiquer ci-après les dispositions qui devront être prises à cet égard.

Ainsi, parmi les conditions énoncées dans le Firman accordé à votre illustre aïeul, confirmés dans ceux qui ont été donnés plus tard, et établissant l'état, la forme, et la durée du service des troupes Égyptiennes regardées comme troupes Impériales, figurait celle qui fixait d'abord le nombre de ces troupes à 18,000 hommes ; ce chiffre a été ensuite porté à 30,000. Votre Altesse ne dépassera pas ce chiffre sans qu'en cas de besoin l'augmentation n'en soit décidée de commun accord.

Tout armement dépassant les services réguliers de cette armée constitue donc une dépense inutile, et votre Altesse, reconnaissant qu'elle n'a nul besoin de ces commandes de plus de 200,000 fusils à aiguille faites à différentes époques en Europe et en Amérique, s'empressera d'en faire l'abandon ; et nous ne mettons pas en doute non plus qu'afin de rester dans les conditions susindiquées, elle ne décommande les navires cuirassés actuellement en cours de construction à Trieste et en France. S'il se présente des difficultés, pour l'abandon de ces fusils et de ces navires, c'est-à-dire, s'il n'est pas possible de les vendre ou d'en faire la vente, Sa Majesté Impériale a décidé d'en faire l'acquisition à leur prix coûtant, afin de faciliter la solution de cette question.

Selon les termes des mêmes Firmans, tous les impôts de l'Égypte doivent être encaissés au nom du Sultan ; or, bien que la perception et l'emploi de ces impôts soient dévolu à votre Altesse, cependant tant que Sa Majesté n'aura pas connaissance de la nature, de la quantité, et de l'emploi des impôts perçus, cette condition de perception au nom du Sultan n'a ni sens ni application. Votre Altesse d'ailleurs n'hésite nullement, selon le passage de sa lettre relatif à la présentation du Budget au Medjlis (Chambre), à soumettre l'état de ses recettes et de ses dépenses à un scrupuleux examen. En adhérant à ces utiles principes, elle a fait évidemment un acte de sagesse. Seulement le perfectionnement de ce système salutaire serait indispensable tant pour votre Altesse que pour la sécurité de la Province du Sultan et de ses habitants. D'un autre côté votre Altesse sait que les emprunts extérieurs nécessitent des mesures inévitables, telles que l'hypothèque des revenus présents et futurs d'un pays et l'augmentation de ses rentrées pour qu'il soit possible de servir des intérêts et de rembourser le capital ; cette question est des plus importantes, et il n'est pas juste que la responsabilité en pèse uniquement sur votre Altesse. Sa Majesté m'a donné donc l'ordre de prier votre Altesse d'adresser chaque année à Constantinople, pour être placé sous les yeux de Sa Majesté, le Budget des recettes et des dépenses ; et s'il devenait nécessaire de faire un emprunt extérieur, vous en demanderiez au préalable l'autorisation à Sa Majesté, en lui soumettant, selon les précédents, les motifs de l'emprunt, ses conditions, et les moyens de servir les intérêts et d'acquitter le capital, après quoi vous serez muni d'un Firman contenant l'autorisation Impériale.

Les relations extérieures de l'Égypte étant dans le cercle des Traités de la Sublime Porte avec les Puissances amies, il a été établi clairement par les Firmans précités que l'Administration Égyptienne n'aura aucun rapport officiel et direct avec les Puissances ; par conséquent, le résultat naturel de cette décision est que, toutes les fois qu'il se présentera une affaire extérieure touchant l'Égypte, elle devra être traitée par le Gouvernement Impérial par l'entremise officielle des Ambassadeurs Ottomans en Europe. Mais, selon l'autorisation Impériale contenue dans le Firman du 5 Sefer, 1284, s'il y a lieu d'envoyer un Agent pour donner quelques éclaircissements aux Administrations étrangères, concernant des Conventions particulières qui pourraient être faites sur des matières déterminées, ou pour conférer sur des règlements spéciaux non-officiels à conclure, cet Agent devra s'aboucher avec le Représentant Ottoman du lieu où il se rendra, et suivre, par son entremise officielle, la négociation dont il aura été chargé. Cette manière d'agir est propre à faciliter la tâche et conforme aux droits et convenances.

Sa Majesté voulant fermement que tous les fonctionnaires de son Empire, quel que soit leur rang, apportent la plus grande vigilance à l'exécution fidèle des règlements organiques, concernant la vie, les biens, et l'honneur de ses sujets, les assurances de votre Altesse à cet égard ont été pour Sa Majesté un motif tout particulier de satisfaction : elle a daigné m'ordonner de vous prier d'y apporter de plus en plus vos soins ; elle espère, en outre, que

les mauvais traitements et les souffrances endurées par les pélerins Musulmans cette année ne se renouvelleront plus, et que votre Altesse rendra responsables de ces faits les Agents qui se sont ainsi conduits d'une façon contraire à sa volonté et à l'humanité.

Nous considérons tous votre Altesse comme un des principaux Membres de l'Empire. Elle s'attachera à remplir pleinement et entièrement tous les articles ci-dessus, destinés à sauvegarder les droits sacrés de notre auguste Maître de toute atteinte, et à développer la richesse et la prospérité du pays placé sous votre administration. Sa Majesté ne doutant point que vous n'apportiez vos plus grands soins à effacer tout malentendu, je ne crois pas utile d'entrer à ce sujet dans d'autres détails. La communication de votre Altesse touchant son projet de voyage à Constantinople a été agréable au Sultan. Sa Majesté sera charmée de voir l'arrangement satisfaisant de ce qui précède, en même temps que votre Altesse, et de lui montrer la continuation de sa haute bienveillance. C'est d'ordre Impérial que j'ai l'honneur de vous adresser cette lettre.

Le 21 *Djemazi-ul-Ewel*, 1286 (*September* 1, 1869).

No. 144.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received September* 12.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, September* 11, 1869, 3:30 P.M.

I AT once communicated to Aali Pasha your telegram of the 8th, stating that Her Majesty's Government agreed with the Government of France in considering that the Firmans of 1866 and 1867 should be maintained.

His Highness repeated, that the intention of the Porte is strictly to observe them, and that it is the Viceroy alone who has violated some of their conditions; but he maintains that no clause in any Firman confers the right to conclude loans.

No. 145.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received September* 12.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, September* 11, 1869, 11:20 P.M.

I WILL immediately act upon your Lordship's telegram of yesterday, and strongly support the French Ambassador in pressing the Porte to withdraw the demand about the loans.

The step is a very serious one, and if insisted on, may not improbably lead to the dismissal or resignation of Aali Pasha, who will have great repugnance in giving way at the instance of the Powers, on a point on which he, in common with the whole Turkish public, considers the right of the Porte to be beyond question.

No. 146.

Mr. Stanley to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received September* 13.)

(No. 36. Confidential.) *Alexandria, September* 4, 1869.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, copy of a telegram sent last night by the Viceroy to the Grand Vizier.

Your Lordship will see from it, as from my telegram of this day, that His Highness accepts the conditions as to giving up the iron-clad vessels and breech-loading guns to the Porte, and also accepts, though with some reserve, depending on the interpretation of the Treaty of 1867, the condition requiring that his Agents should always be presented by the Representatives of the Porte, to whom they are to give daily a report of the negotiations.

His Highness, however, positively refuses to comply with the conditions requiring him to obtain the sanction of the Porte for contracting a foreign loan, and to present annually the Budget.

With regard to the former he states, that previous to the Firman of 1867 it was necessary to obtain the sanction of the Porte, but that that Firman dispensed him from the necessity of obtaining such sanction ; and that the Porte, in 1868, evidently so understood

this Firman, else why did they allow the loan of 1868 to be contracted without remonstrance? Aali Pasha was then, as now, Grand Vizier.

With regard to the Budget, he maintains that this demand of the Porte is contrary to all precedent; that never since 1841 has any Budget been forwarded to the Porte. Previous to 1841, when Egypt was but an ordinary Turkish province, an annual statement of revenue and expenditure corresponding to a Budget was sent to the Porte; that to interfere in the internal financial arrangements is to bring back Egypt to the state it was in before Mehemet Ali, and reduce it to the level of a Turkish province; that especially since the last Firman acknowledged that the internal administration devolved solely on the Viceroy, it would be impossible for him to yield up those privileges which form the base of the welfare and prosperity of Egypt's future.

He remarked, bitterly, that so far from Turkey showing herself able to manage the finances of other countries, the credit of Turkey would rise, and the last Turkish loan not have fallen through, had Egypt offered to become guarantee for her.

He said that he had sent a most submissive and conciliatory answer to the Grand Vizier's first letter, and had expressed his desire to pay homage at Constantinople; that foreign Governments, especially those of England and France, had assured him he would be required to yield no privileges conferred on him by later Firmans; that these assurances had been conveyed to him by the Agents of those Governments here: but that, notwithstanding, two of the demands of the Porte, namely, those relating to foreign loans and the Budget, were in direct contradiction to the rights acquired and privileges granted by the late Firmans.

He feels grievously the humiliation inflicted on him in giving up the vessels and guns, acquired, as they were, under circumstances which he thought would have entitled him to the gratitude of the Porte. He explained to me that he had offered the Porte these vessels, which were declined; and finding they were about to be sold to the Greek Government, he then bought them, for which the Sultan at the time personally expressed his satisfaction. He, however, to show his sincere desire for a reconciliation, gladly submits to make them over to the Porte, as also the 100,000 guns, which he does not consider an excessive amount for Egypt, which at various times has given to the Porte armies of from 30,000 to 40,000 men.

He appeals to the Powers not to allow him to be despoiled of the privileges lately granted to him, the withdrawal of which will be to retard the progress of Egypt.

With regard to the invitation to Constantinople, the Grand Vizier ends his letter by stating, that should His Highness formally accept all these conditions, he may come to Constantinople and pay homage to the Sultan.

His Highness regrets that it is impossible for him to go there as a result of the withdrawal from his country of its most legitimate rights; that he would certainly have gone had the contents of the letter been in conformity with the assurances he had received that nothing would be required from him that was at variance with the Firman lately granted to him.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. E. STANLEY.

Inclosure in No. 146.

The Viceroy of Egypt to Aali Pasha.

(Télégraphique.) *Le 3 Septembre*, 1869.

J'AI reçu la lettre que votre Altesse m'a envoyée par l'entremise de Tahat Pacha. Votre Altesse a la bonté de me faire connaître que ma réponse, pleine de respect et de déférence, a trouvé auprès du Sultan un accueil favorable, que Sa Majesté s'en est montrée satisfaite, et que sa haute bienveillance continue à m'être accordée comme par le passé. Aussi je m'empresse de déposer aux pieds de Sa Majesté mes hommages les plus respectueux et reconnaissants pour l'heureuse nouvelle que votre Altesse vient de me donner.

Ainsi qu'il a été expliqué dans ma première réponse les navires cuirassés et les fusils n'ont été commandés que pour le service de la Sublime Porte. En ce qui concerne les navires, lorsque l'année dernière M. Behic en a proposé la vente, sa proposition a été accueillie sans hésitation dans la persuasion que c'était pour le compte de la Porte, mais quand on a reconnu que cette vente était proposée pour compte d'autrui on a renoncé à toute négociation. Cela ne prouve-t-il pas que ces navires n'ont été commandés que pour

les besoins de la Sublime Porte? En cette situation il importe peu qu'ils se trouvent à Alexandrie ou à Constantinople.

Quant aux fusils, ce n'est pas 200,000, comme on l'a dit, qui ont été commandés, mais 100,000 seulement, dans l'intention également d'en faire usage, comme par le passé, pour le service de Sa Majesté à un moment donné.

Je n'ai donc aucune hésitation à faire la remise à la Sublime Porte, soit des navires blindés, soit des armes qui ne seraient pas nécessaires à l'armement de 30,000 hommes, ainsi qu'il est dit dans la lettre de votre Altesse.

Jusqu'à présent, dans les négociations qui ont eu lieu avec les Cabinets étrangers dans les limites du Firman de 1867 rien n'a été caché aux Ambassadeurs de la Sublime Porte; d'autre part je n'ai nullement l'intention de porter dans l'avenir la moindre atteinte au Firman. Aussi je donne à votre Altesse l'assurance formelle que je me conformerai toujours en tous points à sa teneur, ainsi qu'à l'Irade Impériale émanée à ce sujet.

En ce qui concerne la demande d'autorisation pour les emprunts et de présentation à la Sublime Porte du Budget annuel pour qu'il soit soumis au Sultan, votre Altesse est convaincue que toujours et en toute circonstance j'ai été heureux d'obéir aux ordres de Sa Majesté et de me soumettre à la volonté Impériale: seulement ce sont là deux privilèges accordés à l'Egypte; les reprendre maintenant c'est priver cette partie de l'Empire des avantages considérables dont Sa Majesté a voulu la doter, et je ne crois pas que Sa Majesté veuille en les lui retirant l'humilier aux yeux du monde entier.

J'aurais humblement soumis ces considérations à Sa Majesté si mon voyage à Constantinople ne se trouvait à mon grand regret retardé par la dernière phrase de la lettre de votre Altesse, qui me met dans l'obligation d'attendre la solution de cet incident et de demander de nouveau l'autorisation d'aller déposer mes hommages aux pieds du trône de Sa Majesté.

No. 147.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received September* 13.)

(No. 157.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, September* 6, 1869.

SINCE the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 114 of the 28th ultimo, respecting the differences of the Sultan and the Viceroy of Egypt, I have had some conversation with M. de Westmann on the subject, and I have mentioned to his Excellency the nature of the language which Her Majesty's Government has held at Constantinople and Alexandria with a view to prevent the differences leading to serious consequences. M. de Westmann repeated what he had said to me in a previous conversation, that the Russian Government were of opinion that if other Powers held aloof, the Sultan and the Viceroy would come to an amicable arrangement, and that the Emperor, at all events, had no intention of interfering in the dispute which had arisen between the Sovereign of Turkey and his vassal. I observed that a report had, however, reached Petersburgh that the Viceroy had declared that he would rather accept a rupture with the Porte than accede to all the demands which had been addressed to him; and his Excellency answered that he could not believe the Viceroy would adopt such a course without encouragement from a foreign Power, and he therefore felt assured that some terms of compromise would be found, although the exigencies of the Porte were far from being moderate, and Aali Pasha's answer to the friendly representations of Count Beust showed no great disposition to accept advice from Governments who take an interest in the welfare of the Turkish Empire.

I have, &c.
Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 148.

Count Kalnoky to Mr. Hammond.—(*Received September* 13.)

Dear Mr Hammond, *September* 12, 1869.

COUNT BEUST sends me the inclosed despatch and copy of the last instructions to Baron Prokesch respecting the quarrel between the Porte and Egypt. I hasten confidentially to communicate those papers to you, and have no doubt, from what I know of the views of your Government in this affair, that Count Beust's language and efforts

towards an equitable arrangement of the present difficulty will prove to be almost identical with your own.

Believe me, &c.
(Signed) KALNOKY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 148.

Count Beust to Count Kalnoky.

M. le Comte, *Vienne, le 7 Septembre*, 1869.

LES rapports de notre Ambassadeur à Constantinople et les télégrammes de notre Consul-Général à Alexandrie que je vous transmets ci-près en copie vous informeront en détail des dernières phases par lesquelles vient de passer l'affaire du différend Turco-Égyptien.

Dès la réception du télégramme de M. Schreiner du 2 de ce mois, j'ai pensé qu'il serait nécessaire de renouveller avec un peu plus d'insistance les conseils de prudence et de modération que nous avons déjà donnés à la Porte.

Les communications qui me parvenaient en même temps de Paris me prouvaient que le Gouvernement Français était disposé, comme nous, à se préoccuper des nouvelles difficultés qui pourraient être soulevées par des exigences inopportunes de la Porte. Je me suis donc décidé à envoyer des instructions dans ce sens au Baron de Prokesch.

Sur ces entrefaites le second télégramme de M. Schreiner nous a informés que le Khedive se déclarait prêt à accepter les dernières conditions qui lui étaient imposées par la Porte en ce qui concernait les commandes de fusils et les négociations avec les Puissances Européennes.

Il n'y avait que sur les deux points du budget et des emprunts qu'il réclamait notre appui pour amener le Gouvernement Ottoman à renoncer à ses demandes.

Plusieurs motifs devaient nous engager à prendre en considération ce vœu du Vice-Roi. D'abord nous venions peu auparavant de presser fortement Ismail Pacha de hâter son départ pour Constantinople, et de compléter par cet acte de soumission sa réconciliation avec le Sultan. Nos conseils avaient contribué à décider le Vice-Roi à accepter sans délai la plupart des nouvelles conditions posées par la Porte à son voyage à Constantinople. L'attitude que nous avions pris en Égypte nous autorisait donc à peser d'un autre côté sur la Porte afin qu'elle ne rendît pas impossible par ses exigences l'arrivée du Khedive.

Puis, nous devions reconnaître qu'Ismail Pacha n'était pas dans son tort en alléguant que sur les deux points du budget et des emprunts, les nouvelles demandes du Gouvernement Ottoman dépassaient les limites tracées par les Firmans réglant les relations de l'Égypte avec la Turquie. Enfin il nous semblait que la Porte manifestait en cette occasion des tendances indiquant plutôt le désir de faire un coup d'autorité que de terminer sur une base équitable son différence avec le Khedive.

Prenant ces motifs en considération, j'ai chargé par le télégraphe M. le Baron de Prokesch de presser vivement la Porte de se contenter des conditions déjà acceptées par le Vice-Roi et de ne pas pousser plus loin ses exigences. J'ai complété dans ce sens par une seconde dépêche les instructions plus détaillées qui devaient être expédiées par la poste, et j'espère que nos avis, empreints d'un caractère tout amical, engageront le Gouvernement Ottoman à se montrer conciliant.

Vous trouverez dans l'annexe copie des deux dépêches que j'ai écrites à notre Ambassadeur. Je vous autorise à donner confidentiellement et dans la mesure que vous jugerez opportune, connaissance de leur contenu au Cabinet de Londres. J'aime à croire qu'il appréciera notre attitude, et qu'il y verra une nouvelle preuve de nos efforts constants pour aplanir un différence qui préoccupe à juste titre l'attention générale.

Recevez, &c.
(Signé) BEUST.

Inclosure 2 in No. 148.

Count Beust to Baron Prokesch.

M. le Baron, *Vienne, le 5 Septembre*, 1869.

LA réponse du Khédive que votre Excellence m'a fait connaître par son rapport du 24 Août dernier était de nature à rassurer sur l'issue du différend Turco-Egyptien.

En effet si Ismail Pacha n'avait pas réussi à se justifier entièrement sur tous les points, il était du moins incontestable qu'il avait fait acte de soumission envers le Sultan. Son langage était empreint de déférence et ne témoignait en rien de l'intention de rompre les liens qui l'attachent à l'Empire Ottoman. On pouvait contester l'exactitude de quelques unes de ses allégations, mais leur ensemble et la forme dans laquelle elles étaient présentées semblaient devoir accorder à la Porte une juste satisfaction.

Tel était aussi le jugement de votre Excellence, et d'après ses premiers entretiens avec le Grand Vizier sur cette affaire, nous avions lieu de croire qu'aucun obstacle sérieux ne retarderait d'avantage une réconciliation complète entre le Sultan et son vassal.

Nous regretterions fort de voir ces espérances ne se réaliser qu'imparfaitement, et nous croyons devoir faire un appel sérieux à l'esprit de sagesse et de modération du Gouvernement Ottoman, afin qu'il ne compromette pas par des exigences inopportunes le rétablissement de ses bonnes relations avec l'Egypte. Quelques appréhensions nous sont manifestées à cet égard, et malheureusement elles ne nous paraissent pas dénuées de fondement.

Un rapport récent de notre Chargé d'Affaires à Paris qui nous rend compte d'une conversation avec le Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne nous informe que le Gouvernement Français se préoccupe, comme nous, des tendances qui se feraient jour à Constantinople. On semble craindre à Paris, non sans quelque raison, que la Porte ne veuille profiter des circonstances pour infliger au Vice-Roi une humiliation sensible, et lui imposer des conditions d'une dureté excessive. D'après ce que nous mande M. le Comte de Hozos, le Gouvernement Français désirait nous voir nous unir à lui afin d'assurer au Khédive une réception convenable à Constantinople, et afin de veiller à ce qu'un arrangement définitif soit conclu sur des bases équitables pour les deux parties.

M. le Duc de Grammont a, de son côté, reçu de M. le Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne une dépêche qui exprime le même ordre de pensées, et qui se prononce pour le maintien du *statu quo* actuel dans les relations établies entre l'Egypte et le Gouvernement Ottoman.

Les vues du Gouvernement Français répondent sur ce point entièrement aux nôtres. Vous trouverez donc, M. le Baron, dans votre collègue de France un appui efficace pour appeler sérieusement l'attention de la Porte sur les inconvénients graves qu'il y aurait à élever dans ce moment de nouvelles prétentions capables de mettre en question l'accommodement désiré. En vous concertant avec M. Bourée, pour tenir à la Porte un langage à peu près identique, vos représentations feront sans doute une impression plus utile. Nous comprenons fort bien que le Gouvernement Ottoman ne veuille point laisser péricliter ses droits, et ne souffre pas des empiétements qui affaibliraient sa position et seraient préjudiciables à sa dignité. Nous avons toujours soutenue le Gouvernement Ottoman dans la défense de ses droits, et nous n'entendons nullement nous départir aujourd'hui de cette ligne de conduite. Mais nous croyons que la Porte mettrait les torts de son côté si elle voulait revenir sur des faits accomplis, sanctionnés par le temps et acceptés jusqu'ici par elle-même, aussi bien que par toutes les Puissances. Chercher à profiter des fautes de l'administration d'Ismail Pacha pour restreindre l'autonomie dont l'Egypte jouit depuis longtemps serait, à notre avis, une entreprise dangereuse dont nous ne saurions assez détourner la Porte.

En agissant ainsi on risquerait de s'aliéner un pays qui a prêté à la Turquie dans plus d'une crise un appui utile; on se susciterait des inimitiés redoutables et on entretiendrait les germes d'un conflit toujours menaçant. Une pareille politique nous semblerait tout au moins fort hasardeuse, et un succès momentané ne compenserait même pas, selon notre sincère conviction, les suites fâcheuses qui ne manqueraient pas de se produire bientôt. Nous pensons donc qu'il est de l'intérêt bien entendu de la Porte de terminer promptement un regrettable différence au lieu de le prolonger et de l'envenimer par des nouvelles complications.

Nous pourrons d'autant mieux donner au Gouvernement Ottoman les conseils de modération que nous avons exercé également notre influence auprès du Vice-Roi afin qu'il donne au Sultan toute la satisfaction qui lui est légitimement due. Dès les premières nouvelles que votre Excellence nous a transmises sur l'arrivée de la réponse du Khédive, et l'accueil qu'elle avait rencontrée, nous avons chargé notre Consul-Général à Alexandrie d'insister auprès d'Ismail Pasha afin qu'il accomplisse sans retard son voyage à Constantinople. Ayant appris depuis que le Vice-Roi semblait s'attendre à un appui particulier du Gouvernement Impérial et Royal, et que cette considération pouvait l'engager à se montrer moins disposé à faire acte de soumission vis-à-vis du Sultan, nous avons télégraphié encore une fois le 31 Août dernier à M. Schreiner. Nous l'avons invité à expliquer clairement à Ismail Pasha que nous comptons qu'il ne fût plus apporté de sa part ni obstacle ni retard à son reconciliation avec son Souverain; que nous le pressions

dérechef de se rendre à Constantinople, et de conformer sa conduite aux assurances qu'il venait de donner à la Porte.

On ne saurait donc nous reprocher de montrer dans cette affaire de la partialité pour le Vice-Roi d'Egypte, ou de l'indifférence pour le maintien du bon droit de la Porte. Nous désirons seulement qu'elle reste fidèle à l'esprit de conciliation dont elle a souvent fait preuve, et qu'elle ne compromette pas sa propre cause en fournissant au Khédive des prétextes plausibles pour différer son voyage. Nous nous bornons aujourd'hui à ces observations d'un ordre général, et nous ne voulons pas encore entrer dans l'examen des derniers demandes que, d'après le télégramme ci-joint de M. Schreiner, la Porte aurait adressées à Ismail Pacha. Pour nous énoncer à ce sujet, nous attendrons les informations et les explications que votre Excellence ne tardera sans doute pas à nous transmettre. Nous réservons jusque là notre jugement, mais nous ne pouvons cacher qu'à première vue les conditions posées par le Gouvernement Ottoman nous paraissent de nature à provoquer de nouvelles difficultés. Nous tenons d'autant plus à faire connaître notre avis à Constantinople et à y représenter combien il serait plus prudent de faciliter au Khédive le retour à cette soumission qu'il se déclare prêt à observer fidèlement.

Veuillez vous exprimer dans le sens de ma présente dépêche, dont vous êtes autorisé à donner lecture, et recevoir, &c.

(Signé) BEUST

Inclosure 3 in No. 148.

Count Beust to Baron Prokesch.

M. le Baron, *Vienne, le 5 Septembre*, 1869.

MA dépêche précédente était déjà écrite lorsque j'ai reçu le télégramme ci-joint de M. Schreiner et l'expédition que votre Excellence m'a adressée en date du 31 Août.

Mon télégramme d'aujourd'hui vous a déjà transmis l'instruction de presser vivement la Porte d'accepter la soumission du Vice-Roi sans insister sur les deux demandes concernant le budget et les emprunts. Outre les considérations politiques qui sont exposées dans ma dépêche précédente et qui plaident en faveur d'un prompt apaisement du différend, nous devons reconnaître que les termes des Firmans de 1841 et de 1866 ne nous paraissent nullement justifier le contrôle que la Porte prétend exercer sur l'administration des finances Egyptiennes.

En consultant les actes, je trouve qu'en 1841 un premier projet de Firman réglant les relations de l'Egypte avec la Porte a été, sur les réclamations de Mehemet Ali et les représentations des Puissances, retiré et remplacé par celui qui est encore aujourd'hui en vigueur. Un des passages de ce premier projet contenait une disposition assurant à la Porte un contrôle sur les finances Egyptiennes. Ce passage est un de ceux qui a provoqué les réclamations de l'Egypte et des quatre Puissances alors alliées de la Porte. Il a été complètement supprimé dans le texte adopté définitivement. Nous remarquons aussi que le Firman du 7 Juin, 1867, contient un passage qui attribue expressément à l'Administration Egyptienne le soin de veiller aux intérêts matériels et financiers de l'Egypte. Le Vice-Roi est donc fondé à dire que la Porte prétend lui imposer aujourd'hui des conditions nouvelles qui dépassent les limites fixées par les Firmans antérieurs.

Je ne puis donc que réitérer à votre Excellence l'invitation d'insister fortement auprès du Gouvernement Ottoman pour qu'il se contente de ce qu'il a déjà obtenu du Vice-Roi, et qu'il ne mette plus d'obstacle à l'aplanissement de ce regrettable différend. Nous avons toujours employé et nous emploierons encore notre influence en Egypte pour y faire respecter les droits de la Porte, mais il faut que celle-ci donne de son côté des preuves de modération. Nous faisons donc un appel très sérieux à la sagesse du Gouvernement Ottoman, et nous voulons croire qu'il écoutera des conseils qui sont dictés par les dispositions les plus amicales.

Recevez, &c.
(Signé) BEUST.

No. 149.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received September 13.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, September 12, 1869, 6 P.M.*

I HAVE informed Auli Pasha that I am instructed by your Lordship strongly to support the French Ambassador in recommending the Porte not to insist on requiring the Viceroy to ask for their previous sanction to future loans.

His Highness emphatically declared that it was impossible for him to listen to a suggestion that the Sultan should withdraw a demand formally sent to the Viceroy, and affecting, as he asserts, none of the privileges conferred by any Firman.

No argument of mine could shake the Grand Vizier's resolution.

The retraction would, he said, lower the Sultan in the eyes of all his subjects as well as before the Viceroy.

I then endeavoured to persuade his Highness to declare that he would maintain the *statu quo*, and would give every consideration to the opinion of the Powers as to what this really is, under a fair interpretation of all the Firmans.

The first part of this assurance he is ready to give at once, but he would not off-hand promise to agree to latter part.

No. 150.

The Earl of Clarendon to Lord A. Loftus.

(No. 275.)

My Lord, *Foreign Office, September 13, 1869.*

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 420 of the 4th instant, reporting the substance of a conversation which you have had with M. de Balan on the subject of the recent differences between the Porte and the Khedive of Egypt.

You will express to M. de Balan the satisfaction of Her Majesty's Government at the community of opinion and action which exists between the Cabinets of London and Berlin on this question.

I am, &c.,
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 151.

Mr. Bonar to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received September 14.)

(No. 91.)

My Lord, *Berne, September 10, 1869.*

HAVING inquired of the President of the Confederation what further intelligence he had obtained on the subject of the enlistments which had been making in Switzerland for the service of the Viceroy of Egypt, and of the probable destination of those men, his Excellency told me that the Federal Council had not yet received the direct information from Cairo and Alexandria which, in the absence of any Swiss Consular Agents to apply to, they had solicited from various private individuals resident in the country, but that a few days since they had fortuitously acquired it from other and most positive sources.

His Excellency told me he believed the number of men who had been actually enrolled and had proceeded to Egypt from the Cantons of Geneva and Vaud could hardly exceed twenty-five or thirty; but even of these some five or six, on arriving at their destination and becoming acquainted with the service that was expected of them, had at once required to be freed from their engagements, and had returned to their native country, passing through Genoa, where they had furnished the Swiss Consul with the details from which the present information was gathered.

The Swiss, on arriving in Egypt, had discovered that they were not destined to form part of a police force, as had been represented, but were to be incorporated in a foreign legion which was being formed there, composed of natives from various countries, but, his Excellency thought, principally Italians.

Hereupon the Federal Council had at once, and imperatively, called upon all the Cantonal Governments of the Confederation to take measures to prevent any further enlistments for that service, and he felt assured that none further would take place on Swiss territory.

At the same time the Federal Council had, through the channel of their Legation at

Paris, acquainted the Ottoman Embassy there with the above facts and proceedings; and his Excellency said further, that every measure in their power would be taken by the Federal Council in order to inform, individually, each of the Swiss subjects already so enrolled, that he would be transgressing the laws of his own country by continuing in that service; and that if he did not at once relinquish it he would be liable to severe penalty on his return home.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. G. G. BONAR.

No. 152.

The Earl of Clarendon to Lord Bloomfield.

(No. 186.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, September* 14, 1869.

I TRANSMIT to your Excellency herewith, copies of despatches and telegrams as marked in the margin,* on the subject of the differences which have arisen between the Porte and the Khedive of Egypt.

Your Excellency will make Count Beust generally acquainted with the views and language held by Her Majesty's Government as shown by this correspondence.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 153.

The Earl of Clarendon to Lord Lyons.

(No. 870.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, September* 14, 1869.

I HAVE received your despatch No. 942 of the 7th of September, reporting the language held to you and also to Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, by Nubar Pasha, respecting the relations between the Porte and the Viceroy of Egypt; and also the observations made to you by Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne when speaking to you of Nubar Pasha's communication.

It is hardly necessary for me to say that Prince de la Tour's assurances of his wish to act in cordial concert with Her Majesty's Government have been received with great satisfaction, and are cordially reciprocated. This joint action of the two Governments will be the most effectual method for preventing the complications attendant on this quarrel if unchecked; for if either the Sultan or the Khedive thought he could reckon upon a divergent course of policy on the part of England or of France, the prospects of a reconciliation by compromise would be greatly impaired.

There is much in Nubar Pasha's suggestions that seems well worthy of consideration; but before I reply to Prince de la Tour's inquiry as to the opinion to be formed of them, independently of their author, I wish to offer one or two observations.

Looking impartially, and without prejudice, at the question now pending, it seems impossible to deny that the Khedive is much to blame, and has himself to thank for the embarrassments under which he is labouring.

The Firmans of 1841, 1866, and 1867, had created for him a position of practical independence, sufficient to enable him to govern Egypt prosperously; but he has largely exceeded the conditions on which those Firmans were granted. The order for four iron-clads by a Viceroy who was prohibited from having a navy, and of upwards of 200,000 rifles for an army which is limited to 30,000 men, has afforded just cause for suspicion and resentment on the part of the Porte.

The Viceroy's ill-advised tour to all the principal Courts of Europe, and his invitations to Sovereigns to attend the opening of the Suez Canal, without any previous communication to his own Sovereign, showed a want of respect to him that was blameable, and was wholly inconsistent with the deferential humility that characterized the Viceroy's answer to the Grand Vizier. This has been, unduly perhaps, but not without cause, resented as additional evidence that the Viceroy was aspiring to become independent; while the vast expenditure of the Viceroy, the loans amounting to nearly 30,000,000*l.* sterling which he has contracted, and the heavy taxation which weighs upon the Egyptian people, have furnished the Porte with grounds of remonstrance, although a large share of

* Nos. 104, 105, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 127, 128, 130, 132, 137, 142, 144, 145, 146, and 149.

blame attaches to its own carelessness and utter want of vigilance as to the manner in which the Firmans were observed by the Khedive.

Egypt, however, has in many respects prospered, and is progressing; vast foreign interests have been created there; she is in advance consequently of the rest of the Ottoman Empire, and England and France are greatly concerned in her not being brought down to the low level of an ordinary Turkish province.

With respect to Nubar Pasha's suggestions Her Majesty's Government think that the Viceroy should cancel his order for the iron-clads and the rifles, and that the Porte should not insist upon its sanction being necessary for loans, and still less upon the Egyptian Budget being annually submitted to the Porte; for, bad as the financial administration in Egypt may be, its evils would be disastrously increased by the delays and uncertainties attending the intervention of the Porte.

Her Majesty's Government also think that Nubar Pasha is justified in the opinion that the Firman of 1867 confers on the Khedive full powers to enter into any special arrangements with foreign Agents respecting the Customs duties, and, so far as foreigners are concerned, respecting the police, and the postal and transit services; and that the interference of the Porte in the details of negotiations on these points would render it in practice impossible to come to any satisfactory arrangements concerning them.

It would be very desirable, however, that the Khedive should engage not to increase the existing taxes in Egypt, nor to impose any new taxes except for works of a reproductive character. But the maintenance of the Firmans, liberally construed, should be the basis of any arrangement between the Sultan and the Khedive; and as it will doubtless promote such arrangement if the communications by letter and telegraph were to cease, it might be advantageous that Nubar Pasha should go as a negotiator to Constantinople; but Her Majesty's Government agree with Prince de la Tour and your Excellency that, although Nubar Pasha might there receive the support of the English and French Ambassadors in projects for settling the differences which might be approved by their respective Governments, yet that it would be imprudent for the two Governments to commit themselves to him, or to give him any authority for stating that in his mission from the Khedive he had the support of England and France.

It will be for the good of the Khedive, and highly advantageous to the Egyptian people, that some check should be put on his proceedings; and it will not be otherwise than useful to the Sultan to be made aware that he cannot deal at his pleasure with Firmans to which he has asked the assent of foreign Powers.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 154.

The Earl of Clarendon to Lord Lyons.

(No. 876.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, September* 15, 1869.

ON the receipt of your Excellency's telegram of the 9th instant, in which you stated that Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne was anxious that Her Majesty's Government should join him in strongly pressing the Porte to withdraw the demand that the Viceroy should obtain the permission of the Sultan before contracting loans, I informed Mr. Elliot by telegraph that I entirely concurred in this view of the demand in question, and I instructed him cordially to support his French colleague in urging its withdrawal. You will state this to Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, and with reference to his Excellency's observations, reported in your despatch No. 949 of the 9th instant, as to the proposed visit of the Khedive to Constantinople, you will say that Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that it would be well to wait until the question of the loans is settled before advising the Khedive to go to Constantinople, or incurring any responsibility for his mode of treatment there.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 155.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Elliot.

(No. 298.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 15, 1869.

I HAVE to acquaint your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government approve the language which you held to Aali Pasha, as reported in your despatch No. 372 of the 30th

ultimo, in regard to the advancement and employment by the Porte of the known enemies of the Viceroy, and you will take an opportunity of informing Aali Pasha that your language on that subject has been approved by Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.

(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 156.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Elliot.

(No. 299.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 15, 1869.

ALTHOUGH the assurances you have received from Aali Pasha that there is no intention on the part of the Porte to set aside any of the Firmans issued by the Sultan in 1841, 1866, and 1867, in favour of the Viceroys of Egypt, are readily accepted by Her Majesty's Government, I nevertheless think it right to place on record the view taken by Her Majesty's Government of those instruments, and of the obligation incurred by the Porte towards foreign Powers not to modify them without the consent of those Powers.

As regards the Firman of 1841, which was the result of direct negotiations with the Powers, there can be no question; but the Firmans of 1866 and 1867 were successively communicated to the Powers, and as regards the first of them more specifically, which was described by Aali Pasha in his despatch to Musurus Pasha of the 30th May, 1866, as confirming anew the privileges of the Firman of 1841, his Highness expressed his hope that it would be entirely approved by Her Majesty's Government.

Her Majesty's Government would have therefore felt entitled to contend that none of those Firmans could be modified to the prejudice of the Viceroy without the consent of the Powers; but it is a great satisfaction to them,—and you will so inform Aali Pasha,—to find that the Porte is not disposed to raise any question as to the maintenance of the privileges conferred by those Firmans on the Viceregal Government of Egypt.

I am, &c.

(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 157.

Aali Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Clarendon by Musurus Pasha, September 17.)

(Confidentielle.)

M. l'Ambassadeur, *Le* 8 *Septembre*, 1869.

LES Cabinets Européens se sont grandement préoccupés en dernier lieu de l'incident qui a surgi entre la Sublime Porte et Son Altesse Ismail Pacha.

Les éclaircissements que nous leur avons fournis sur la vraie situation des choses et sur les intentions de notre auguste Souverain auront déjà édifié à cet égard les hommes d'État de l'Europe.

En revenant aujourd'hui sur le même sujet, mon but n'est pas de chercher à établir les droits et les devoirs réciproques de Sa Majesté Impériale et du Khédive: ces droits et ces devoirs sont suffisamment démontrés par des actes solennels et par les détails que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous envoyer successivement.

Il nous importe maintenant de bien préciser les motifs qui ont provoqué la crise actuelle, la position de la Sublime Porte au milieu de cette crise, et les seuls moyens capables de la résoudre sans secousse, comme sans danger d'un conflit sérieux.

Cela nous semble d'autant plus nécessaire que nous tenons à protester contre toute idée de vouloir créer des difficultés là où aucun danger réel ne menace le droit et l'intérêt de l'Empire, et à expliquer aux grandes Puissances les raisons majeures qui ont obligé le Gouvernement Impérial à demander au Khédive certaines garanties pour l'avenir.

Malgré la réponse pleine d'assurances de dévouement pour la personne auguste de Sa Majesté Impériale que Son Altesse vient de m'adresser, je dois rappeler d'abord que la conclusion de la lettre que j'ai eu l'honneur d'écrire au Khédive, d'ordre de notre auguste Maître, le prévenait très explicitement qu'il faudrait à Sa Majesté Impériale des garanties positives pour dissiper de son esprit l'impression profonde que l'ensemble de ses procédés avait produite. Notre nouvelle démarche ne saurait donc surprendre ni Son Altesse ni personne.

Les assurances qu'il a plu au Pacha de nous écrire, les protestations qu'il prodigue dans sa réponse, ne peuvent malheureusement détruire les faits qui témoignent hautement

contre la sincérité de ses protestations. Toutes les assertions de Son Altesse sont empreintes d'une telle exagération qu'il nous est impossible de les considérer comme offrant des garanties réelles.

Le Khédive a-t-il, ou n'a-t-il pas, des velléités de s'affranchir complètement de ses obligations envers son Souverain? Quelles sont les preuves à l'appui des soupçons qu'on entretient à cet égard? Si Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan peut voir avec indifférence ces velléités et s'il n'est pas urgent de mettre un frein à une ambition qui ruine l'Egypte et prépare à l'Empire des malheurs incalculables?

Qu'Ismail Pacha cherche à se débarrasser des liens qui le lient à la Turquie, le doute ne nous en paraît possible. Tous les actes de Son Altesse trahissent la pensée qui l'agite; 7,000,000*l.* à 8,000,000*l.* sterling de revenu annuel ne suffisent pas aux besoins de sa grande idée, consistant à pouvoir, s'il est permis de m'exprimer ainsi, supprimer le "Vice" qui précède son titre actuel. Une dette énorme pèse déjà sur le présent et sur l'avenir du pays, et Dieu seul sait à quelle limite s'arrêterait le système des emprunts successifs, si cet état de choses continue encore pour quelque temps.

On sait ce que les chemins de fer et les autres travaux publics ont pu coûter. On sait aussi que l'Égypte n'a jamais eu aucune de ces difficultés intérieures ou extérieures qui obligent les Gouvernements à recourir à des moyens extraordinaires qu'elles occasionnent.

Un contribuable Egyptien paie aujourd'hui en impôt le quintuple de ce qu'il payait il y a huit ans.

Qu'on n'aille pas croire que l'augmentation dont il s'agit soit le résultat d'un progrès quelconque de la richesse publique. Ceux qui connaissent l'état réel du pays, la proportion effrayante que les impôts ont prise depuis quelque temps, la part de l'influence que le Conseil des "Nurvales" a dans la confection des budgets des recettes et des dépenses, ne peuvent pas être aussi optimistes que Son Altesse paraît l'être.

Quelle est donc la vraie cause de cet état de choses? Que devient l'argent dont on le pouvoit si abondamment? En voici le compte en gros mais exact. Une très grande partie en est absorbée par toutes sortes de commandes de faveur qu'on donne, non parce qu'on a besoin de l'objet commandé, mais parce qu'on veut obliger ou enrichir les personnes. Pour ceux qui cherchent à faire fortune, l'Egypte et ses commandes sont devenues une Californie sans risque et sans fatigue d'un long voyage. Nous pouvions citer comme preuve de la vérité de cette assertion des centaines de faits plus incroyables les uns que les autres. Et c'est dans le but unique de gagner de partisans à la grande idée.

Les palais somptueux, les largesses fabuleuses, un luxe sans pareil, et des sommes colossales volées par l'entourage de Son Altesse sous prétexte de gagner à sa cause les hommes influents de toutes les parties du monde, constituent un des chapitres importants du Budget Vice-Royal: et c'est toujours dans le but de tromper les Européens et de se faire passer pour le génie civilisateur de l'Orient.

Un autre chapitre du même Budget se compose des sommes considérables consacrées à l'achat des armes et des bâtiments de guerre. Ce chapitre est la manifestation matérielle de la pensée Vice-Royale. En effet si Son Altesse est résolue de rester fidèle à ses devoirs, comme elle le déclare, dans ce cas elle ne peut pas entretenir plus de 30,000 soldats. Or, 300,000 fusils pour une armée de 30,000 hommes dépassent toutes les proportions reçues. Donc on nourrit le plan d'amener le nombre des troupes à la hauteur du chiffre des fusils à aiguille qu'on vient de commander. Donc, les assurances données par le Khédive sur la loyauté de ses intentions ne sont pas sérieuses. Il est de la dernière évidence que l'Egypte n'est menacée d'aucun part pour justifier de tels sacrifices, dans un moment surtout où les finances Egyptiennes se trouvent dans le plus grand embarras. A quoi attribuer ces préparatifs, si ce n'est à cette même grande idée qui agite constamment l'esprit de Son Altesse et lui fait mettre de côté toute autre considération?

La construction à grands frais des bâtiments cuirassés se rattache au même plan. C'est une violation, comme la commande d'armes hors de toute proportion et comme tant d'autres, des conditions auxquelles l'administration héréditaire de l'Égypte a été confiée à la famille de Mehmed Ali Pacha.

Cet exposé succinct, mais véridique, démontre la déplorable perspective qu'on réserve à un pays dont la conservation et la prospérité est une question vitale pour l'Empire Ottoman. Sa Majesté le Sultan, dont les ancêtres ont conquis et conservé l'Egypte, ne saurait ni la voir ruinée, ni consentir à aucun prix à ce que les liens qui l'unissent à son Empire soient affaiblis par l'infidélité d'un Gouverneur. Il ne le pourrait parceque ses sentiments d'honneur et de dignité ne lui permettraient pas, et parceque l'opinion publique Musulmane en Egypte, comme dans toutes les autres parties de l'Empire, se révolterait à l'idée seule de sacrifier une province d'une importance religieuse et politique si grande à l'ambition injustifiable d'un seul homme.

Ainsi l'avenir de l'Égypte, sa préservation d'une ruine certaine, l'intérêt des

capitalistes qui ont prêté leur argent au Pacha, et le salut des droits du Sultan, exigent qu'un contrôle salutaire soit exercé sur la question financière de l'Egypte.

Dans le siècle où nous sommes le Khidiv seul, dans le monde entier, jouit de l'énorme privilége de n'avoir à rendre compte de l'administration du dénier public qu'à lui-même. Le résultat de tout cela est que les contribuables gémissent sous le poids des impôts de plus en plus lourds, le pays s'endette, et l'argent ainsi ramassé est dissipé de la façon que nous venons de décrire. Il faut que cette anomalie cesse un moment plus tôt. Elle ne saurait durer plus longtemps sans amener de catastrophes dont le contre-coup serait ressenti partout; catastrophes qu'il est du devoir du Gouvernement du Sultan de prévoir et de prévenir. Le seul remède que nous pensons être de nature à conjurer ce danger, c'est dans la mise en pratique d'une clause du Firman de l'hérédité qui stipule que tous les impôts, directs et indirects, la dîme et les douanes, doivent être perçus au nom du Sultan, et les contribuables ne doivent pas être opprimé. Or, si Sa Majesté Impériale ne sait pas de quelle manière et en quelle quantité on prélève les impôts en son nom, si on opprime ou non les habitants, si les produits des impôts sont employés dans l'intérêt du pays ou non, cette clause n'aura aucune raison d'être. La signification la plus naturelle en est, sans contredit, le droit de contrôle sur les finances; droit dont l'exercice soulagera le pays, empêchera les dépenses inutiles, et épargnera aux Puissances le désagrément d'avoir plus tard à surveiller elles-mêmes pour sauvegarder les intérêts engagés de leurs sujets respectifs.

Il est vrai que ce contrôle n'a pas été exercé jusqu'ici; mais le droit n'en existe pas moins, et les conséquences que nous avons sous les yeux prouvent combien cette négligence a été nuisible, et combien il serait dangereux de la continuer. Quant à la faculté de conclure des emprunts étrangers, elle n'a jamais été accordée aux Pachas d'Egypte.

Said Pacha a soumis au préalable à l'approbation de Sa Majesté Impériale les motifs et les conditions des emprunts, ou plutôt du seul emprunt, qu'il a contracté. Il est impossible que le Khidiv puisse raisonnablement refuser d'obéir à la même loi à laquelle ses prédécesseurs n'ont pas hésité à se soumettre.

Voilà donc l'explication de la réplique que j'ai eu l'ordre de notre auguste Maître d'adresser à Son Altesse, et dont vous avez déjà reçu la traduction.

Vous aurez la bonté de vous énoncer dans ce sens et d'une manière confidentielle.

Veuillez, &c.,
(Signé) AALI.

No. 158.

Aali Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Clarendon by Musurus Pasha, September 17.)

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le 15 Septembre*, 1869.

LES Ambassadeurs d'Autriche, de la Grande Bretagne, et de France sont venus faire auprès de la Sublime Porte une démarche à peu près identique sur l'incident Egyptien.

Leurs Excellences nous ont dit que, dans l'opinion de leurs Gouvernements respectifs, nos deux demandes relativement à l'envoi du budget et aux emprunts étrangers dépassaient les limites des droits du Sultan; que ces droits avaient été aliénés, en ce qui concerne l'envoi du budget, par le Traité de 1841, et, en ce qui touche aux emprunts étrangers, par le Firman de 1867, qui aurait conféré au Khédiv la faculté de les faire dorénavant sans être obligé de demander comme par le passé l'autorisation du Sultan. Je pense, et je ne l'ai pas laissée ignorer à leurs Excellences, qu'on peut envisager de deux manières différentes notre demande actuelle d'envoi du budget; mais je vous invite à déclarer qu'il en est tout autrement de l'affaire des emprunts, sur laquelle aucune discussion n'est possible.

Vous ajoutez que je me fais fort de le démontrer, pièces en main, au Vice-Roi lui-même. En attendant, comme les Ambassadeurs ne m'ont apporté jusqu'à présent que des affirmations, et que je ne peux répondre qu'à des raisonnements, il serait désirable qu'on voulût bien nous indiquer la phrase du Firman de 1867 sur laquelle se base l'opinion des Cabinets. Du reste, vous pouvez, dès à présent, donner l'assurance la plus formelle que jamais le Vice-Roi n'a fait de démarche pour obtenir la permission de faire des emprunts sans l'autorisation du Sultan, demandée chaque fois, et qu'il serait, par conséquent, bien invraisemblable que notre Souverain eût voulu aliéner de son plein gré un droit de cette importance pour le pur plaisir de le faire.

Je déclare de plus, comme rédacteur du Firman de 1867, que l'idée de comprendre dans les points accordés par cet Acte, qui consistaient en arrangements de douane, de transit,

de poste, et de police, celui mille fois plus important d'engager indéfiniment l'avenir de l'Egypte, ne s'est jamais produit dans les négociations. Vous êtes autorisé à donner lecture de ce télégramme au Ministre des Affaires Etrangères.

No. 159.

Mr. Hammond to Count Kalnoky.

Dear Count Kalnoky, *Foreign Office, September 17*, 1869.

I RETURN you the inclosed despatches, and I am desired by Lord Clarendon in doing so to express to you his thanks for the communication of them, and his great satisfaction that the English and Austrian Governments are acting in entire concert together in the matter to which they relate.

Very faithfully yours,
(Signed) E. HAMMOND.

No. 160.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received September 18.)

(No. 381.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, September 5*, 1869.

I RECEIVED this afternoon a telegram from Mr. Stanley stating that the Viceroy accepted the demands of the Porte as regards the iron-clads and the rifles, but his Highness appealed to me whether those respecting the Budget and the foreign loans were not a limitation of the rights conferred upon him by the Firman of 1867.

I replied to Mr. Stanley that I would try to obtain the modification of the demand of the Porte that the Egyptian Budget should be submitted to them, but that I doubted whether the Firman in question could be held to confer on the Viceroy the uncontrolled right of making unlimited foreign loans.

In a previous despatch to your Lordship I expressed the opinion that the words of the Firman do not bear the extended interpretation put upon them by the Viceroy, and it is, I imagine, certain that while allowing his Highness internal financial freedom, they were never intended to grant him a general sanction for making loans.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 161.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received September 18.)

(No. 383.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, September 6*, 1869.

I LEARN from Mr. Stanley that the Viceroy of Egypt understands England and France to have said that none of the privileges conferred upon him by the Firmans of 1866 and 1867 shall be withdrawn.

As I informed your Lordship on previous occasions, I am satisfied that there is no intention of withdrawing any of the privileges contained in those Firmans, but if the Khedive believes that the Sultan will be prevented by the Western Powers from applying the only means of pressure which can be used towards him, his Highness will be relieved of a principal inducement of complying with the demands of the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 162.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received September 18.)

(No. 385.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, September 7*, 1869.

I CALLED yesterday on Aali Pasha and informed him that I had heard from Mr. Stanley that the Viceroy accepted the demands of the Porte as regarded the iron-

clads and rifles, but considered the requisition to submit the Egyptian Budget to the Porte, and to contract no loans without the sanction of the Sultan, to constitute an infringement of the privileges conferred upon him by the last Firman.

I said also that His Highness' decision to come to Constantinople was retarded by his having understood the last letter as signifying that his doing so was to be conditional upon the acceptance of the whole of the demands of the Porte.

Aali Pasha said that his letter had not made that step conditional upon the acceptance of any one of the demands. The Viceroy had intimated his intention of coming to pay his respects to the Sultan, and as it would have been ungracious to take no notice of that announcement, he had been directed by His Majesty to inform His Highness that he would receive him with pleasure.

I said to Aali Pasha that, as he must be aware from the opinions I had already expressed to him, I had not been surprised that the Viceroy should regard the demand for the presentation to the Porte of the Egyptian Budget as a limitation of the rights that had been conferred upon him.

His Highness was now, it appeared, ready to give way on the most important point required by the Porte, and it was, therefore, incumbent upon the latter not to insist upon anything that could fairly be regarded as an infringement of his privileges.

Although the Governments of England and France had not guaranteed those privileges, they would certainly not be disposed to see an "Egyptian question" provoked by their withdrawal, and by the consequent resistance on the part of the Viceroy which such a measure would bring on.

I was, I said, not aware of the view that might be taken by my Government with regard to the sanction of the Sultan being insisted upon as necessary before Egyptian loans are contracted; but the terms of the last letter, requiring that the Budget should be submitted to the Porte, did seem, as they stood, to constitute a limitation of the internal financial administrative freedom which had been allowed to the Egyptian Government.

I urged His Highness, therefore, to telegraph to Egypt in a manner to satisfy the Viceroy that nothing of that kind was intended, and to say at the same time that there is no wish on the part of the Porte to withdraw any existing Firman.

The Grand Vizier, after some conversation during which I had strongly represented the expediency of removing, as far as possible, every cause of misunderstanding, wrote down a telegram which he said he would send to the Khedive.

It began by stating distinctly that the Porte has no wish to withdraw any of the privileges conferred on His Highness by previous Firmans. That in asking for the communication of the Egyptian Budget it is not intended to control the distribution of the revenue, but to obtain an authentic account of the state of the finances of a province forming an important portion of the Empire.

His Highness added, however, that the right of making foreign loans could not be deduced from the Firman of 1867, as one of the privileges conferred by it; and he concluded by saying that these explanations had seemed necessary in consequence of it appearing that some doubt or misunderstanding existed as to the bearing and extent of the engagements that had been asked for by the Porte.

I do not believe that it would have been possible to induce the Grand Vizier to go further than he consented to do upon my representations.

The demand that the Budget should be submitted to the Porte may, I consider, be looked upon as abandoned, and the most that will be expected is that when the Khedive submits it to the General Assembly, a copy should likewise be sent to the Porte.

The sole difficulty now remaining, therefore, regards the question of the loans, and upon it I am greatly mistaken if the Porte would give way, excepting under the most urgent and direct pressure; for they are convinced that upon this point their rights are as indisputable as their interests are clear.

When I represented to Aali Pasha that, being satisfied in regard to the armaments, he might be easier upon the other points, he said that however important it might be to obtain the recognition of the principle of the Viceroy being debarred from the right of making armaments, the necessity of stopping the loans was quite as urgent, and the demand with respect to it was one from which it was impossible to recede.

He would defy any impartial person, with the text of the Firman of 1867 in his hand, to argue that it conferred the right now contended for by the Khedive; which, he could moreover confidently assert had never been contemplated or thought of at the time it was given.

The words of the Firman of 1867 bearing upon the financial question state that the internal administration, and consequently the financial, material and other interests of the

country being confided to the Egyptian Government, "permission is accorded to it to make such regulations as may be deemed necessary, under the form of special internal Tanzimat, for the preservation and development of these interests."

Aali Pasha argues that it is altogether unreasonable to maintain that, because the Egyptian Government was allowed the free administration of the finances, it is to be considered entitled to saddle the country with any amount of debt which the extravagance of its rulers may entail.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 163.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received September* 18.)

(No. 336.)
Constantinople, September 7, 1869.

My Lord,

AS directed by your Lordship, I have reminded Aali Pasha that the Firman of 1866 having been communicated to the Powers, should not be withdrawn without their knowledge.

His Highness said, first that there was no intention of revoking it; and, secondly, that the Firman in question had, like most others of public interest, been communicated to the foreign Representatives here, none of whom had taken the slightest notice of it.

It was not, he said, in any sense an international document, as he admitted that of 1841 to be.

I said, that the order of succession in Egypt having been fixed by an international act, the act by which it was changed must be regarded in the same light, when it had been accepted by the different Governments.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 164.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received September* 18.)

(No. 387.)
Constantinople, September 8, 1869.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith a translated copy of the reply of the Grand Vizier to the letter of the Viceroy of Egypt, of the substance of which I had already informed your Lordship in my despatch No. 371 of the 30th ultimo.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 164.

Aali Pasha to the Viceroy of Egypt, August 29, 1869.

[See Inclosure in No. 143.]

No. 165.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received September* 17.)

(No. 390.)
Constantinople, September 8, 1869.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my yesterday's despatch No. 385, I have the honour to inclose a report from Mr. Pisani, whom I had directed to ascertain whether the Grand Vizier had forwarded to the Viceroy the telegram he had promised me to send.

I had very strongly urged His Highness to add to his telegram the paragraph with which Mr. Pisani states that he has concluded it, suggesting that the Khedive's presence at Constantinople would be conducive to an understanding being come to upon the points at issue; but he at that time declined taking an engagement to do so.

In subsequently putting it in, he has given evidence of his wish to listen to the

suggestions made on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, and this intimation should satisfy the Viceroy that his coming would not be regarded as implying his acceptance of all the demands of the Porte.

It is impossible that the Viceroy should come, as suggested by Mr. Stanley, as a guest invited by the Sultan; but His Highness's announcement of his intention of coming to Constantinople has, at least, been courteously responded to.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 165.

Mr. Pisani to Mr. Elliot.

Sir, *Constantinople, September 8, 1869.*

AALI PASHA'S telegram to the Viceroy did not go yesterday, because His Highness thought it advisable to lay it before the Sultan, and get His Majesty's sanction previous to forwarding it. While he was reading it to the Sultan yesterday, a telegram from the Khedive reached him, but being in cypher it took some time before it could be made out.

As soon as he took cognizance of the contents of the Khedive's telegram, he added a few more remarks to his own, and lost no time in transmitting it to-day to Egypt. Aali Pasha gives unequivocal assurances to Ismail Pasha that the Porte entertains no intention whatever to disparage him, or lower his position in the estimation of the public, nor establish a control over the finances of Egypt, but that the Sultan is very anxious to be made acquainted with the state of the revenue and expenditure of one of the most important provinces of his empire. With regard to the question of concluding loans, his Highness remarks to the Khedive that he must strictly abide by the letter and spirit of the various Firmans issued at different dates.

Aali Pasha's telegram, which he was good enough to read to me, is upon the whole couched in very becoming and civil terms, and concludes by suggesting that the Khedive's presence at Constantinople may be conducive to a better understanding as to the points at issue.

I have, &c.
(Signed) E. PISANI.

No. 166.

Colonel Stanton to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received September 19.)

(Telegraphic.) *Alexandria, September 18, 1869.*

AT an audience with the Viceroy this day, during which I urged him to go to Constantinople without delay, his Highness, in order to explain his unwillingness in complying with the wishes of Her Majesty's Government, showed me, in confidence, a passage in a letter he had received from Paris, I believe from M. Lesseps, giving an extract of a letter from the French Ambassador at Constantinople to his son, to the following effect:—

If the Viceroy comes to Constantinople he will be well received by Aali Pasha, but the Sultan will treat him with great indignity.

His Highness also fears, should he visit Constantinople before the points now in dispute are clearly settled, that the insistance of the Sultan would increase the difficulty, as a refusal to comply with His Majesty's direct demand would make the dispute more personal between the Sultan and himself. His Highness considers the dispute now rests upon the interpretation to be given to the text of the Firmans, and that, as European interests are so engaged in the financial arrangements of Egypt, he cannot accept the position assigned him by Aali Pasha.

The Viceroy particularly requests that no notice may be taken of the French Ambassador's letter, which he wants kept a profound secret.

No. 167.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received September 22.)

(No. 984.)
My Lord, *Paris, September 21, 1869.*

ALTHOUGH the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne was made fully acquainted by your Lordship, when you were here, with the views of Her Majesty's Government respecting the difference between the Porte and the Khedive of Egypt, I nevertheless thought it well, before leaving Paris, to lay before him your Lordship's despatch No. 870 of the 14th instant. I accordingly went through it with him this afternoon, and at his request left with him, as a memorandum, a translation of it which I had brought to read to him.

He observed that the comments on the Khedive's conduct were perhaps rather severe, but that in general, he concurred in the views expressed in the despatch.

He proceeded to tell me that he had received a telegram from M. Bourée, the French Ambassador at Constantinople, in which, among other reasons against the Porte's giving way on the question of the loans, it was urged that as Aali Pasha had conducted the negotiations respecting the Firman of 1867, and had drawn up the Firman himself, for him now to allow that it gave the Khedive the power to contract foreign loans, would be to admit that he had been an unskilful or unfaithful negotiator. M. Bourée proposed as a compromise that the Porte should agree that it would never refuse to allow the Khedive to contract any loans which were approved by the French and English Embassies.

The Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne said that in reply he had informed M. Bourée by telegraph, that the Government of the Emperor was still of opinion that the right to make loans was in fact granted by the Firman of 1867. He had, he said, added that the proposal that loans should be sanctioned by the Embassies was entirely inadmissible, and would throw upon France and England a very objectionable responsibility respecting Egyptian finances.

The Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne went on to say that Prince Metternich had told him that Baron Beust was of opinion that the Porte had been encouraged by its success in the recent Conference of Paris to put forward exaggerated pretensions, and that this was a dangerous tendency which should be resisted by the Powers of Europe. Prince Metternich had, however, after hearing an explanation of the views of France and England, declared, that as those Powers appeared to desire to effect a reconciliation by means of a compromise, the Austrian Government would be disposed to act with them, and would not by itself assume an attitude more adverse to the Porte than they had done.

The Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne said, in conclusion, that he thought we might pause for a moment, and wait to see what effect the counsels we had already given would have at Constantinople and in Egypt, and what steps the Khedive would take after Nubar Pasha's arrival.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 168.

The Earl of Clarendon to Lord A. Loftus.

(No. 286.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, September 22, 1869.*

M. DE KATTE called yesterday at this office to communicate the view taken by the Prussian Government of the differences which have arisen between the Porte and the Khedive of Egypt. He stated that the Prussian Minister at Constantinople had been desired to impress upon the Sultan's Government the expediency of moderation in their demands upon the Khedive, and he added that Prussia was anxious for the maintenance of the *statu quo* in the East.

Her Majesty's Government having taken similar measures at Constantinople, and with the same object, are happy to find themselves acting in concert with the Prussian Government in this matter.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 169.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received September 23.*)

(No. 394.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, September* 11, 1869.

ON the receipt of your Lordship's telegram of the 8th instant, I lost no time in communicating its substance to the Grand Vizier, stating that the Governments of England and France agreed in considering that the Firmans granted to the Viceroy of Egypt in 1866 and 1867 should be maintained.

Aali Pasha repeated that the Porte's intention is strictly to observe those Firmans, and that it is the Viceroy alone who has violated some of their conditions; but his Highness continues to maintain that no clause in any one of his Firmans confers the right to contract foreign loans for Egypt.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 170.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received September 23.*)

(No. 397.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, September* 12, 1869.

I HAD the honour yesterday to receive by the messenger Vivian your Lordship's despatches down to No. 285 of the 2nd instant.

If there had been no more rapid mode of communication, I should now have had the satisfaction of believing that I could inform your Lordship that, in the question between the Porte and the Viceroy, M. Bourée and myself had already succeeded in obtaining all that was expected by Her Majesty's and the French Governments.

The Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne had stated to Lord Lyons, as reported in his Excellency's despatch No. 925 of the 2nd instant, that he had instructed M. Bourée to urge the Porte not to change the *status quo* of its relations with the Khedive, explaining that by that term he did not include any abuses which might have grown up, nor any encroachments which might have been winked at, but only the privileges conveyed by a fair interpretation of the last as well as of the first Firmans.

He also insisted on the importance of obtaining an assurance from the Porte that, upon the Viceroy coming to Constantinople, he should be courteously received, and not subjected to any humiliation.

Your Lordship informed me that Her Majesty's Government agreed in these views, and directed me to support my French colleague in pressing them on the Porte.

We both urged them warmly, and, as we flattered ourselves, with complete success.

Assurances were given not only to us but to the Viceroy himself that he would be becomingly received, and the declarations of the Grand Vizier that none of the privileges conveyed by the Firmans should be withdrawn were equally explicit.

There appeared, therefore, to be every prospect that no further difficulty need be apprehended in bringing the affair to a satisfactory conclusion, when M. Bourée received telegraphic instructions to urge the withdrawal of the demand that foreign loans should not be contracted by the Viceroy without the sanction of the Porte.

Upon receiving your Lordship's instruction strongly to support the representations of my colleague upon this matter, I thought it my duty at once to express, by telegraph, my sense of the gravity of the course I was directed to follow; for my previous conversations with Aali Pasha had satisfied me that there was little probability of inducing him at this moment to consent to the withdrawal of a demand upon the rights of which he had so frequently pronounced himself in the most unqualified manner.

His Highness would, I felt sure, rather send in his resignation than submit such a proposal to the Sultan; but if he did consent to it, I had little doubt that the Sultan would dismiss him sooner than follow the advice.

I lost no time, however, in executing your Lordship's instruction, and in pressing it upon the Grand Vizier to the utmost of my power.

I reminded him that I had from the outset warned him that Her Majesty's Government would not allow a difficulty to arise between themselves and the Government of the Emperor Napoleon upon this Egyptian question. He had already been informed by M. Bourée that the French Government had come to the conclusion that the Viceroy should not be constrained to demand the Sultan's authorisation in contracting loans; and your Lordship had directed me strongly to support the same view.

Both Governments, I said, saw that a serious rupture between the Porte and the Viceroy would speedily spread and develop into an European question, and both were equally resolved to do what they could to avert it.

Aali Pasha did not, he said, doubt the sentiments which animated the two Governments, but he would submit that they were following the very course most likely to create the danger they were so anxious to avoid. If the Viceroy refused to give the very moderate assurances that had been required by the Sultan, it must be attributed to a conviction that he would be supported in a resistance which he would never have thought of offering without it.

He was bound to tell me distinctly and without equivocation, that it was altogether impossible for the Sultan, at the instance of the two Governments, to withdraw the demand formally sent to the Viceroy with regard to future Egyptian loans.

He had already, by the advice that had been given to him, gone as far as he could in rendering the Viceroy's acceptance easy.

He had stated that the Sultan would be happy to receive him; and he had explained the demand relating to the Budget in a manner that must have satisfied His Highness that there was no intention of exerting any control over the expenditure of the Egyptian revenue.

Having done this he was not prepared for the new demand that M. Bourée and myself had now brought forward, or for being called upon formally to sanction an encroachment by the Viceroy on the sovereign rights of the Sultan, which had certainly never been contemplated when the Firman was issued, and which, he would fearlessly assert, could not be deduced from its terms.

I had always, he said, insisted that the Viceroy should not be deprived of the privileges resulting from a "fair interpretation" of all the Firmans. He had taken an engagement to this effect, and was prepared to stand by it; but, with the documents in hand, it would, he was sure, be impossible for any one to maintain that the interpretation we now wished to force upon him was the "fair" one.

I declined to follow His Highness upon this ground. I said that what we had now to do was to find a way out of a position of embarrassment and danger.

On the one side, he must have become aware that the European Governments were not disposed to see a rupture between Turkey and Egypt, and on the other he told me that he could not retract a demand which the Viceroy seemed determined to resist.

I could understand and enter into the difficulty in which he was placed in withdrawing a demand which the Sultan was known to have formally required from the Viceroy, but it was, nevertheless, necessary for him to find a way of avoiding a still greater embarrassment.

I submitted, therefore, that he should at once give an assurance that the *status quo* with regard to the Viceroy, as resulting from all the Firmans, should remain intact, and that in any matters of doubt as to the extent of the privileges conferred by them he would take into consideration the opinions of the Governments that were now pressing their counsels upon him.

The first part of this declaration Aali Pasha said he was ready to make at once, but the second he could not promise without consideration; for it seemed to amount to an engagement to accept a European reading of an Imperial Firman (a Firman, he might have added, of which the words were his own), of which the Porte might surely be considered the more competent judge.

An immediate withdrawal of the demand that had been sent to Egypt would involve so great a humiliation to the Sultan that it will, I imagine, be necessary in some manner to mask it; and it was with this object that I made the suggestion I have above reported.

A more satisfactory mode of proceeding, as Aali Pasha said, would be that the Viceroy should come here, where any matters remaining at issue would be discussed, with the Representatives of the European Governments at hand.

He would come under the guarantee that none of the privileges conferred by any Firman should be touched, and the weight of the counsels of the friendly Governments could hardly fail to ensure the settlement of the disputed points far more satisfactorily than can be hoped for by telegrams and despatches.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 171.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received September 23.)

(No. 398.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, September* 13, 1869.

THE Austrian Ambassador has received from his Government instructions similar to those I have had from your Lordship, directing him to support the views of the French Government with regard to the demand of the Porte relative to the future loans of the Viceroy of Egypt.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 172.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received September 23.)

(No. 399.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, September* 13, 1869.

I MENTIONED to Aali Pasha that Mr. Stanley reported that the Viceroy had deeply felt the humiliation of having to give up to the Porte the iron-clads and the rifles, for the former of which he stated himself to have received the personal sanction of the Sultan, and for the latter, to the number of 100,000, the approbation of the Grand Vizier.

Aali Pasha answered that it was impossible for him to say what sanction the Khedive may have imagined himself to have had from the Sultan with regard to the ships; but as the assertion that he had himself been cognizant of the order for the breech-loaders was entirely without foundation, he thinks it probable that the pretended authority about the iron-clads was equally incorrect.

The Grand Vizier likewise remarked that the orders for breech-loaders, of which the Porte had proof, were not to the extent of 100,000, but for considerably more than twice that number.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 173.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received September 23.)

(No. 400.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, September* 13, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith a translation of the telegram forwarded by the Grand Vizier to the Viceroy on the 9th instant.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 173.

Aali Pasha to the Viceroy of Egypt.

(Télégraphique.)

(Traduction.) 3 *Djemazi-ul-Akhir*, 1286 (*le 9 Septembre*, 1869).

JE me suis empressé de soumettre à Sa Majesté le télégramme de votre Altesse du 5 Septembre, 1869. Notre auguste Souverain a hautement apprécié tant les expressions de fidélité et de dévouement contenues dans ce télégramme que l'empressement que votre Altesse a montré dans l'exécution de ses ordres.

Il est de la dernière évidence qu'aussi longtemps que l'Administration Egyptienne restera dans les limites fixées à ses droits et à ses devoirs, Sa Majesté Impériale ne consentira jamais à ce qu'il soit porté la moindre atteinte à aucun des priviléges octroyés par les Firmans Impériaux de différentes dates. Il n'est donc pas nécessaire de donner des assurances détaillées sur ce sujet.

Le but de la demande de soumettre les Budgets des revenus et des dépenses de l'Egypte n'est nullement d'assujettir, ni l'administration financière, ni les détails des dépenses, à un contrôle quelconque. Il s'agit seulement de faire connaître à Sa Majesté

Impériale l'état vrai des revenus et des dépenses d'un pays qui forme la plus importante partie de l'Empire.

On ne peut avoir aucun doute que par suite de cette explication, votre Altesse conviendra qu'une demande si naturelle et si légitime ne saurait être interprétée comme une violation de privilége.

Quant à la faculté de conclure des emprunts étrangers, il est impossible de tirer cette faculté ni de l'esprit ni de la lettre du dernier Firman. Sa Majesté Impériale m'a chargé de dire à votre Altesse qu'elle est convaincue que vous donnerez une nouvelle preuve de votre sincérité et de votre droiture en n'hésitant pas à exécuter les ordres qui assurent le salut de l'Egypte et la sécurité de tout l'Empire en même temps qu'ils sont conformes aux précédents, comme à son droit nettement établi.

Nous espérons que les doutes qui ont retardé la réalisation de votre projet de voyage à Constantinople seront complètement écartés par les éclaircissements qui précèdent.

(Signé) AALI.

No. 174.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received September 23.)

(No. 401.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, September* 14, 1869.

I READ to Aali Pasha your Lordship's despatch No. 273 of the 28th of August directing me to lose no opportunity of urging the Porte to act with moderation in their proceedings towards the Khedive, and stating that Her Majesty's Government did not hesitate to say that, if His Highness were to be deposed, or even degraded, the tone of public opinion would set strongly against the Porte, and that her interests would be thereby imperilled.

Aali Pasha said he hoped your Lordship was by this time satisfied that there was no intention on the part of the Porte either of deposing or degrading the Viceroy.

An impression seemed to have prevailed among the European Governments of such being the intention of the Porte, but, as he was convinced that it had not been derived from their Representatives here, he could only attribute it to an unmerited credence having been given to the imaginary complaints of the Viceroy.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 175.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received September 23.)

(No. 405.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, September* 15, 1869.

I HAD the honour last night to receive your Lordship's despatch No. 286 of the 4th instant, stating that Her Majesty's Government did not concur in seeing the necessity for an European inquiry into the financial affairs of Egypt.

I had not intended by my despatch No. 355 of the 17th ultimo to imply that there was any wish on the part of Aali Pasha for such an inquiry.

His Highness had been insisting that the financial condition of Egypt was becoming such as imperatively to call for steps being taken to prevent the ruin of the country from continuing unchecked; and he said that he was so satisfied of the accuracy of the facts he had advanced that, if it was thought necessary, he would even be willing that they should be established through the medium of an impartial inquiry.

He has, however, no intention of making any formal proposal to that effect.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 176.

Aali Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Clarendon by Musurus Pasha, September 23.)

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le 21 Septembre*, 1869.

REÇU télégramme No. spécial 83.

Lord Clarendon doit être déjà de retour à Londres. Veuillez assurer sa Seigneurie que la Sublime Porte ne veut ni humilier le Khédive, ni ne pas tenir compte des intérêts

Européens en Egypte. Le Sultan revendique un droit qu'il n'a jamais cédé à qui que ce soit. Le Khédive refuse de le reconnaître, et proclame sa résolution agressive. Est-ce le Sultan qui humilie le Khédive? ou c'est lui qui cherche non-seulement à humilier, mais aussi à réaliser un changement radical dans sa position vis-à-vis de son Souverain. Nous tâchons de sauvegarder les intérêts des capitalistes Européens en voulant subordonner les emprunts à une autorisation préalable; il ne serait donc pas juste de nous accuser d'indifférence à cet égard.

No. 177.

Aali Pasha to Djemil Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Clarendon by Musurus Pasha, September 23.)

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le 21 Septembre*, 1869.

NOUS regrettons vivement de voir donner au Firman de 1867 une interprétation complètement erronée. Si le Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne possède une traduction exacte du Firman, il y verra que c'est le préambule qui parle, comme son Excellence dit, des intérêts matériels, financiers, et autres, pour en déduire les quatre points qu'il accorde au Khédive; c'est en d'autres termes une introduction tirée du Firman de 1841, afin légitimer les nouveaux priviléges spécialement désignés. Ce mot dont le Ministre a fait mention n'est donc que le rappel des bases de l'acte fondamental de 1841.

Or, si cet acte avait autorisé les Gouverneurs d'Egypte à contracter des emprunts étrangers, pourquoi ceux-ci ont-ils cru devoir demander l'autorisation préalable du Sultan, toutes les fois qu'ils se sont trouvés dans la nécessité d'en conclure?

Ce que notre auguste Maître a octroyé spontanément à Ismaïl Pacha est très clairement et très-nettement spécifié dans le Firman en question, que Sa Majesté est résolue de maintenir intact, comme elle est irrévocablement décidée à ne pas permettre au Pacha d'empiéter sur ses droits incontestables.

Le Khédive n'est ni propriétaire ni Souverain de l'Egypte; il n'en est que l'Administrateur héréditaire. Aucune loi, aucun privilége ne peut par conséquent être invoqué en faveur de sa prétention d'engager l'avenir du pays sans être dûment et spécialement autorisé par le Souverain territorial. Nous déclarons, de la manière la plus solennelle, que le Sultan n'a jamais entendu réserver ce droit au Vice-Roi, et que Sa Majesté ne retire rien de ce qu'elle a accordé, en refusant une faculté que Son Altesse n'a jamais obtenue. Quand le Khédive a conclu son dernier emprunt, il nous en a expliqué les motifs, et obtenu une autorisation verbale. Si nous n'avons pas insisté alors sur une autorisation écrite, cela ne saurait constituer l'abandon d'un droit auquel il est impossible à notre Souverain de renoncer.

No. 178.

Mr. West to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received September 24.)

(Telegraphic.) *Paris, September 24*, 1869.

PRINCE DE LA TOUR D'AUVERGNE thinks the three Powers ought not to recede at once from the interpretation of the Firman of 1867 respecting the loan question, but does not wish to insist upon it further than has been done. He agrees with your Lordship respecting imposition or augmentation of new taxes in Egypt.

No. 179.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Elliot.

(No. 317.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September 24*, 1869.

THE following passage occurs in a telegram from Aali Pasha to the Turkish Ambassador at Paris, dated 21st September, which was communicated to me yesterday by Musurus Pasha:—"Quand le Khédive a conclu son dernier emprunt, il nous en a expliqué les motifs, et obtenu une autorisation verbale. Si nous n'avons pas insisté alors sur une autorisation écrite, cela ne saurait constituer l'abandon d'un droit auquel il est impossible à notre Souverain de renoncer." And in a previous passage of the same telegram, the

question is asked, "Pourquoi ceux-ci" (les Gouverneurs d'Egypte) "ont-ils cru devoir demander l'autorisation préalable du Sultan toutes les fois qu'ils se sont trouvés dans la nécessité d'en conclure" (des emprunts étrangers)?

Her Majesty's Government have been under the impression that the complaint of the Porte against Ismail Pasha was, that he had contracted the last as well as other loans, without communication with the Porte, and might so contract other loans hereafter. It appears, however, from Aali Pasha's statement, that as regards the last especially, the amount of which far exceeded that of previous loans, as well as regards all previous loans, the Viceroy applied for, and obtained, the sanction of the Porte; and whether that sanction was given verbally, or in writing, is immaterial as affecting the principle for which the Porte now contends

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 180.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Elliot.

(No. 318.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September 24*, 1869.

I HAVE received your despatch No. 397 of the 12th instant, and I have to state to you that I entirely approve of the language which you held to Aali Pasha respecting the questions between the Porte and the Viceroy, as reported in that despatch.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 181.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. West.

(No. 8.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September 24*, 1869.

I HAVE received and laid before the Queen Lord Lyons' despatch No. 984 of the 21st instant, reporting a conversation with Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne on the difference between the Porte and the Khedive. The Prince stated that in the opinion of the Imperial Government, the right to make loans was granted to the Khedive by the Firman of 1867, and that M. Bourée's proposal that loans should be sanctioned by the Embassies was considered by them to be entirely inadmissible, as it would throw upon France and England a very objectionable responsibility with regard to the Egyptian finances. His Excellency proposed that France and England should pause for a moment and wait to see what effect the counsels already given by them would have at Constantinople and in Egypt, and what steps the Khedive would take after Nubar Pasha's arrival.

You will inform Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne that Her Majesty's Government entirely concur with the above views, as expressed by his Excellency to Lord Lyons.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 181*.

Mr. Bonar to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received September 26.)

(Telegraphic.) *Berne, September 26*, 1869.

FOR information respecting recruitments in Switzerland for the Viceroy of Egypt, I beg to refer your Lordship to my despatch No. 88, sent by messenger.

No. 182.

Lord A. Loftus to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received September .)

(No. 440.)
My Lord, *Berlin, September 25*, 1869

IN obedience to the instructions of your Lordship's despatch No. 275 of the 13th instant, I have expressed to M. de Balan the satisfaction of Her Majesty's Government at the community of opinion and action which exists between the Cabinets of London and Berlin, on the question of the differences which have arisen between the Sultan and Khedive of Egypt.

His Excellency thanked me for the communication, and observed, that the Prussian Government were most anxious for the maintenance of the *status quo* as based on the

Firmans of 1841, 1866, and 1867; and that they were happy to find that the great Powers of Europe were acting in unison on this question.

His Excellency considered that a perfect understanding between the European Powers would be the surest means of preventing these differences from assuming larger proportions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

No. 183.

Aali Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Clarendon by Musurus Pasha, September 29.)

M. l'Ambassadeur, *Constantinople, le 16 Septembre*, 1869.

POUR faire suite à mes expéditions précédentes je vous transmets ci-joint en traduction, pour votre information, le télégramme du Khédiv d'Egypte répondant à ma dernière lettre, ainsi que la réponse que, d'ordre de notre auguste Souverain, je viens d'adresser à Son Altesse également par voie télégraphique.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) AALI.

Inclosure 1 in No. 183.

The Viceroy of Egypt to Aâli Pasha, September 5, 1869 (Telegraphic).

[This is substantially the same as the Translation sent home by Mr. Stuley: see Inclosure in No. 146.]

Inclosure 2 in No. 183.

Aali Pasha to the Viceroy of Egypt, September 9, 1869 (Telegraphic).

[See Inclosure in No. 172.]

No. 184.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. West.

(No. 23.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, September 29, 1869.*

I HAVE received your despatch No. 29 of the 28th instant, reporting a conversation with Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne on the subject of the difference between the Porte and the Khedive; and I approve the language in which you assured his Excellency of the wish of Her Majesty's Government to act in concert with the Imperial Government in endeavouring to settle this question.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 185.

Mr. Herries to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received September 30.)

(No. 47.)
My Lord, *Florence, September 24, 1869.*

I SAW Count Menabrea this morning. His Excellency, who had just had a conversation with the Turkish Chargé d'Affaires, told me that he had hopes of seeing the differences between the Khedive and the Porte soon brought to an amicable conclusion.

The former having consented to desist from the acquisition of iron-clad vessels, and a compromise having been agreed upon with regard to the arms for the Egyptian troops, Count Menabrea considered those questions as practically settled. To the financial question he attached more importance. In his opinion, it was essential to the interests of European nations, and to those of Italy in particular, that the practical independence of Egypt in matters of internal administration should be maintained; and the security of the foreign capital now embarked in Egyptian undertakings would be seriously affected if the Porte were allowed to interfere with the management of the finances of that country.

The Italian Government, therefore, would endeavour to prevent any arrangement for subjecting the Egyptian Budget to the effectual control of the Turkish Government.

On other points they were, he said, comparatively indifferent, and they did not wish to meddle with questions of purely internal organization.

He concluded by observing, with an expression of some soreness, as I thought, that England and France acted together in the East, leaving Italy to attend to her own interests:—"L'Angleterre et la France font leurs petites affaires ensemble, et nous devons nous occuper des nôtres."

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD HERRIES.

No. 186.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 2.)

(No. 411.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, September 17, 1869.*

WITH a view to carrying out your Lordship's instructions, I endeavoured to induce Aali Pasha to take advantage of the uncompromising declaration of determination to abide by the conditions of the Firmans contained in the last telegrams from the Viceroy.

I proposed that the Porte should express itself satisfied with this recognition of the principle for which it has been contending, leaving all details for future discussion. In this way no right would have been abandoned, or demand withdrawn, whilst the Porte would have obtained the satisfaction of the Khedive's renunciation of the iron-clads and rifles, and the *status quo* would have been maintained.

Aali Pasha has declined to take the suggestion into consideration. It is, he considers, too late for the Porte to be able to retract demands that have been officially made.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 187.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 2.)

(No. 412. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, September 21, 1869.*

AALI PASHA three days ago requested Mr. Pisani to ask me confidentially my opinion of the course which it was desirable for the Porte to follow in the present emergency.

The answer which I returned was to the effect that the only opinion which I could give was that the Porte should endeavour to find a way of following the advice of the friendly Powers without sacrificing either the dignity of the Sultan or the interests of the country.

I represented that as Aali Pasha must be convinced that, since the Powers would certainly not tolerate extreme measures of coercion being resorted to to compel the Viceroy to make the engagement that was demanded respecting the loans, there was nothing to be gained by continuing the correspondence; and that I still thought that the most dignified mode of proceeding was that which I had already suggested.

The Viceroy might be informed that it is not the intention of the Porte to prolong the controversy by repeating any specific demands; that His Highness having declared his determination to observe the conditions of the Firmans, the Porte was convinced that he would adhere to his engagement, and was resolved not to allow any deviation from it.

With this intimation it might be understood that the Porte regarded the matter as terminated, excepting as regards the handing over of the iron-clads and rifles.

I assured Aali Pasha that, in Europe at least, the satisfaction of the Porte would be regarded as very sufficient.

The determination of the Turkish Government not to retract the demand they had put forward appears to me too strong to admit of the prospect of inducing them to abandon it. Your Lordship will see the importance of endeavouring to persuade them to follow a course which would, in fact, affirm the continuance of the *status quo*, and indefinitely postpone the consideration of the questions upon which the divergence of views is so great as to leave little chance of being brought to a satisfactory solution till both parties are more favourably disposed.

The Viceroy is under engagements to his present creditors not to contract a new loan for several years, and before that time has elapsed a way may be found for arriving at an accommodation which at present would hardly be possible.

I was aware that the concession I have been pressing for is far more than the Porte is at all disposed to grant, and perhaps more than Aali Pasha has the strength and weight to carry through if I succeed in persuading him of its expediency.

I shall, however, continue to urge it upon him, in the belief that it is only in this way that there is a prospect of accomplishing the wishes of Her Majesty's Government that the Porte should desist from pressing the demands that have been sent to the Viceroy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 188.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 2.)

(No. 413. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, September* 21, 1869.

GENERAL IGNATIEFF returned here three days ago, after an absence on leave of about four months.

His Excellency called yesterday on the Grand Vizier, and took the opportunity of assuring his Highness that his Government regarded the question between the Porte and the Viceroy of Egypt as one of entirely internal administration, and that he should not have to interfere in it either officially or unofficially.

He did not fail to contrast the line adopted by his Government with that which was being followed by the Governments which, as he said, the Porte had been in the habit of regarding as more friendly to it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 189.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 2.)

(No. 414.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, September* 21, 1869.

I RECEIVED this morning from Mr. Pisani the following confidential report:—

"Aali Pasha desires me to tell your Excellency, in the strictest confidence, that he perfectly understands the motive which actuates France in persisting to support the Khedive. She is anxious to consolidate the paramount influence she has over the Viceroy. His propensity and devotion to France is of public notoriety, and therefore there is no wonder if she is endeavouring to support his views; but his Highness is at a loss to comprehend why England is so anxious to act in concert with France. The great object of the French in protecting the Viceroy is to master, if possible, the canal; and this question may, sooner or later, assume a very hostile character, and perhaps compromise the peace of the Continent. The Suez Canal, vastly important as it is, said Aali Pasha, to the commerce of the world, promises to be a bone of contention and a cause of final struggle for its mastery."

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 190.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 2.)

(No. 415.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, September* 22, 1869.

THE Egyptian loan of 1868 having been pointed to as evidence of the right of the Viceroy to make such contracts, the Grand Vizier states that the reference is altogether inopportune, the Sultan having given his direct personal sanction to it at the time.

Aali Pasha says that the negotiation having passed through Fuad Pasha, he could not affirm this to have been the case until he had asked His Majesty if it was so. The Sultan, however, has now assured him, in the most explicit manner, that, the Khedive having personally explained the motives that made him wish to make a loan, he had himself intimated his approval of it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 191.

Mr. West to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 2.)

(No. 36. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Paris, September* 30, 1869.

PRINCE DE LA TOUR D'AUVERGNE asked me to-day whether I had received any news from Constantinople or Egypt respecting the pending differences between the Porte and the Khedive.

I told his Excellency that I had received no intelligence whatever, and that the matter appeared to be much where it was when I had last the honour of seeing him.

At the same time I said that affairs were assuming a grave aspect, and that since the arrival of General Ignatieff at Constantinople it seemed more than ever desirable that the Governments of England and France should act in perfect accord in any measures having for object to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the question. His Excellency must be aware, I said, that the Porte was determined to proceed to extremities rather than yield on the question of the interpretation of the Firman of 1867 respecting the right of the Viceroy to raise foreign loans, and that it was not unlikely that the Sultan was influenced in some measure in adhering, if not in coming, to this determination by the presence of General Ignatieff at Constantinople. I further remarked, that the Cabinet of St. Petersburgh would doubtless view with satisfaction the existence of any difference of opinion on the question between the Governments of England and France, and that in all probability it would use its best endeavours to create one. I then reminded his Excellency of the fact of the Khedive having asked for and obtained the authorization of the Porte for the last loan, a fact which certainly seemed to alter the position, and offered the means of maintaining the *status quo*.

The Prince replied, that he was anxiously waiting for the news of the result of Nubar Pasha's communications, upon which much would depend, and that he hoped to-morrow or next day would bring some intelligence. He said that he had taken precautions in order to prevent the iron-clad ships ordered by the Viceroy, now at Toulon, from leaving that port, but that he had no reason to believe that the Viceroy intended to recede from what he had declared respecting their purchase; on the contrary, some of the crews had been taken out of the vessels, and the Egyptian flag was no longer hoisted. He quite admitted, however, the gravity of the position, and the necessity, on account of Russian influence, of the most cordial understanding between the Governments of France and England in any measures to be taken under present circumstances. Russia, he said, was evidently sore at not having been consulted in the matter.

With regard to any extreme measures which the Porte might have recourse to against the Khedive, his Excellency said he did not think they could or ought to be permitted. It was no longer a question of insisting upon the interpretation of the Firman of 1867, agreed upon by the Governments of England, France, and Austria, and which had caused such indignation on the part of the Sultan, or of the Sultan insisting upon his interpretation. The fact I had mentioned of the Khedive having applied to the Porte in the case of the last loan, and the probability of his always being obliged to do so in any future cases, ought to satisfy the Sultan, more especially if he should be required to engage not to impose any new taxes or increase those in existence, an engagement which must effectually "tie his hands" in the matter of making foreign loans. Considering, therefore, the actual state of the matter, he could not help thinking that, notwithstanding the vehement language used by the Sultan and his Ministers (a course, he remarked, oftentimes adopted in Turkey and with Turkish officials, when they felt themselves in the least backed up), a "transaction" would be found which would maintain the *status quo* and be satisfactory to all parties.

I told his Excellency that I felt convinced that your Lordship shared this hope, and was only anxious that it should be speedily realized.

"Enfin," the Prince said, "nous sommes d'accord."

I have, &c.
(Signed) L. S. SACKVILLE WEST.

No. 192.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. West.

(No. 38.)
Sir,

Foreign Office, October 2, 1869.

I HAVE to instruct you to communicate to Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne the substance of Mr. Elliot's despatch No. 411 of the 17th ultimo, stating that the Porte declines to retract any of the demands made on the Khedive.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 193.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. West.

(No. 39.)
Sir,

Foreign Office, October 4, 1869.

I APPROVE your language to Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne respecting the course to be pursued by England and France with regard to the difference between the Porte and the Khedive, of which a report is given in your confidential despatch No. 36 of the 30th ultimo.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 194.

Lord Bloomfield to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October .)

(No. 397.)
My Lord,

Vienna, September 30, 1869.

HAVING inquired at my last interview with Count Beust if he had received any fresh intelligence as to the questions which had arisen between the Sultan and the Khedive, he said that, before his departure from Vienna, he had written fully to Constantinople and to Alexandria, and that his attention had not been called to anything new which had arrived from either place. He had no fresh instructions to send, and was waiting to see the effect that might be produced by the action of the great Powers before taking any further step. He hoped for the best; his policy is entirely that of England and France in this question.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 195.

Colonel Stanton to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 4.)

(No. 72. Very Confidential.)
My Lord,

Alexandria, September 22, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith to your Lordship a copy of my despatch of the 20th instant addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, reporting the result of my audience with the Khedive on the 18th instant.

Your Lordship will perceive that in this report I have made no mention of the passage in the letter from the French Ambassador to his son in Paris that the Khedive showed me, His Highness having particularly requested me not to mention the subject to any one but your Lordship, as he wished it kept a secret; but with that exception I have endeavoured to give his Excellency a correct version of what passed between His Highness and myself during my audience.

I much fear, my Lord, that under the existing circumstances, and until the Khedive is assured that no attempts will be made by the Sultan to force him by personal pressure to sacrifice what he considers his rights under the Firman of 1867, His Highness will hardly be induced to proceed to Constantinople; and I venture to beg your Lordship's instructions as to whether, notwithstanding the Khedive's explanation of the reasons of his unwillingness to comply with the recommendation of Her Majesty's Government, I should

still urge His Highness to make, without further delay, the act of submission that would be implied by his repairing thither in person.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. STANTON.

Inclosure in No. 195.

Colonel Stanton to Mr. Elliot.

(Confidential.)
Sir,

Alexandria, September 20, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency that on the 18th instant I proceeded to Cairo and was honoured by an audience with His Highness the Khedive the same afternoon, when, in compliance with the instructions I had received from the Earl of Clarendon, I endeavoured to impress upon His Highness the importance attached by Her Majesty's Government to his losing no time in disarming the suspicions of the Turkish Government and making his peace with the Sultan.

I stated that Her Majesty's Government, without imputing to His Highness any such sinister designs as were attributed to him, could not deny that the Porte, judging from his overt acts, might have found in them some excuse for their assumption, and that it was on that account that Her Majesty's Government could not too earnestly recommend to the serious consideration of His Highness the propriety of making, without further delay, the act of submission to the Sultan which would be implied by his repairing in person to Constantinople. I added that His Highness must be sufficiently aware of the friendly interest felt by Her Majesty's Government for all that concerns him to feel assured that in counselling him to reconcile himself with his Sovereign, Her Majesty's Government were satisfied that such a course was the one by which his tenure over Egypt would be placed on a durable footing, and the administration of the country permanently secured to himself and his descendants, according to the provisions of the Firman on which it now rests.

His Highness, in reply, assured me he was profoundly sensible of the interest taken in him by Her Majesty's Government, and that he was ready to go to Constantinople to render homage to the Sultan as soon as the questions now in dispute were settled. He had already given a formal assurance that he would conform in all points to the tenour of the Firman of 1867, but the Grand Vizier demanded him to concede two points which were of the greatest importance for Egypt. He considered the dispute now rested on the interpretation to be given to the text of the Firmans, and that as European interests were so largely mixed up in the financial arrangements of Egypt, the matter could hardly be considered a personal one between the Sultan and himself.

His Highness further remarked that should he visit Constantinople before the points now in dispute were clearly settled, he feared the insistance of the Sultan in the matter would only increase the difficulty, and that he would be placed in the dilemma of either incurring the Sultan's anger by refusing to comply with a demand addressed him personally by his Sovereign, and thus making the dispute a personal one, or be forced, in order to avoid such a position, to consent to the withdrawal of the privileges conferred on Egypt by the Firman above mentioned. His Highness is, moreover, evidently persuaded that although, the Grand Vizier will receive him in a becoming manner, he runs a very great risk of being treated by the Sultan with some indignity, which would be most humiliating to himself and injurious to his position in this country; and this idea, added to the fear that the Sultan may force him into making concessions, may, I think, be the real motive of his unwillingness to proceed to Constantinople at the present moment.

I may also mention to your Excellency that I have reason to believe the Italian Government have expressed, through their Agent and Consul-General here, the opinion that His Highness is in the right in declining to comply with the demands of the Porte as to the presentation of the Budget, and the mode to be observed with reference to contracting foreign loans, as these demands are considered infringements of the powers accorded to the Khedive by the Firman of 1867. And I am persuaded His Highness has great hopes the same view will be taken by the French Government, if not also by that of Her Majesty; and under these circumstances he is the more anxious these questions should be decided before he makes his visit to Constantinople.

It may also be worthy of remark to your Excellency, that the principal financial Agents here are by no means anxious to see the Egyptian finances placed under Turkish control or supervision; it is generally considered that the only effects likely to be produced by such interference would be to lower the value of Egyptian securities, and that foreign

loans would be contracted in future as easily as at present, though the Khedive would have to pay dearer for the accommodation, having to obtain the sanction of the Porte to the transaction.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. STANTON.

No. 196.

Mr. West to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 6.)

(No. 48.)
My Lord, *Paris, October 4, 1869.*

IN obedience to the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch No. 38 of the 2nd instant, I communicated to the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne this day the substance of Mr. Elliot's despatch to your Lordship No. 411 of the 17th ultimo, respecting the differences between the Porte and the Khedive.

His Excellency remarked that the whole question now turned upon the maintenance of the *status quo* as proposed by Mr. Elliot; that the Porte ought to be satisfied respecting the loan question, since the Khedive, it appears, has never made a loan without reference to the Sultan, while he does not assert that he will ever make one without doing so; and that the Khedive on his part ought to be equally satisfied, since the Porte does not withdraw any of the privileges of the Firmans of 1866 and 1867. His Excellency said he had received no positive intelligence from Egypt as to the result of Nubar Pasha's communications, but that he thought a favourable issue might be expected. He added that he quite thought the *status quo* as now understood should be insisted upon.

I have, &c.
(Signed) L. S. SACKVILLE WEST.

No. 197.

Mr. West to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 7.)

(Telegraphic.) *Paris, October 7, 1869.*

PRINCE DE LA TOUR D'AUVERGNE informs me that the Viceroy has denied to French Consul that he ever even verbally asked for Sultan's sanction to last loan. If this is so, the basis of *status quo* becomes changed.

No. 198.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 8.)

(No. 419.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, September 27, 1869.*

I THIS morning read to Aali Pasha your Lordship's despatch No. 299 of the 15th instant, expressing the view taken by Her Majesty's Government of the obligations incurred by the Porte towards foreign Powers by the Firmans of 1841, 1866, and 1867.

His Highness, although again repudiating all intention of abrogating any of these Firmans, said that he was bound at once to protest against your Lordship's argument as to the inability of the Porte to touch them without the consent of the Powers.

The Firman of 1841 might indeed be regarded as an international instrument, but those of 1866 and 1867 had no title to be similarly considered, having been granted voluntarily by the Sultan without negotiation with any foreign Governments.

I reminded him that the Firman of 1866 had modified an admittedly international arrangement, and must therefore, beyond question, be regarded as of the same character as the Firman of 1841, which it supplemented; and the manner in which it was communicated to Her Majesty's Government showed that this was felt at the time.

Aali Pasha said that the modification which it introduced into the Firman applied to a point affecting the mode of succession in Egypt, which had originally been left entirely at the discretion of the Porte; he did not, therefore, admit that the Powers were entitled to interfere in the arrangements which might be made respecting it, and, at all events, what I had said did not apply to the Firman of 1867, which was the one now relied upon by the Viceroy, and upon which it was impossible to fix anything of an international character.

I remarked that the relations between Turkey and Egypt too closely affected both

English and French interests for it to be possible for those two Governments to admit that they may be arbitrarily or capriciously disturbed, and they were therefore justified in expecting that the *status quo* should not be altered.

The Grand Vizier replied, almost bitterly, that he asked for nothing better than the maintenance of the *status quo*; for the strict application of the conditions of all the Firmans would more than satisfy him. The question however is, what is meant by the *status quo*? The English and French Governments seemed disposed to put upon a Turkish document a construction which, as its author, he could confidently assert the words neither convey nor imply; and he would, with equal confidence, ask those who were cognizant of the negotiations whether, two years ago, the extended signification now given to them was ever thought of?

I said he might be convinced that the opinion of Her Majesty's Government had been given without any wish to advance the Viceroy's position at the expense of the Porte, and that they had come to their conclusions with greater impartiality than could be expected from the Porte as one of the parties interested.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 199.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 8.)

(No. 420.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, September 27, 1869.*

LORD LYONS in his despatch No. 942 of the 7th instant reports to your Lordship the account given by the Viceroy to Nubar Pasha of the demands that had been conveyed by the Grand Vizier's letter.

In alluding to the part of them which affects the negotiations that the Khedive may enter into with European Governments upon the matters upon which he is, under the Firman, permitted to make direct arrangements, His Highness states that the "Grand Vizier insists that the Egyptian negotiator shall be presented to the respective Ministers for Foreign Affairs by the Ottoman Ambassador, who shall be made acquainted with the object and nature of the negotiation and decide whether or no to sanction it, and shall, moreover, be informed day by day by the Egyptian negotiator of every step taken."

Your Lordship, in commenting upon Nubar Pasha's remarks with regard to this demand, observes in your despatch to Lord Lyons No 870, that the interference of the Porte in such details could not fail to render it impossible to come to any satisfactory arrangements concerning them.

I have inquired of Aali Pasha whether the Porte pretended to claim a direct control over the details of the negotiations and to be kept daily informed of the steps taken in them; for that, if that was intended, I would urge him without loss of time to retract a pretension certainly not in harmony with the spirit of the Firman.

Aali Pasha replied that the version given by the Viceroy of the demand of the Porte upon this matter showed how necessary it was to be cautious in receiving his assertions; no such demand, nor anything resembling it, having been made or thought of.

A simple reference to his letter to the Khedive would suffice to show that there was no mention of a daily communication of the details of the negotiation, or of anything except that the Agent who was to conduct it should be presented by the Ottoman Ambassador.

The Grand Vizier recalled the circumstances under which the permission to make direct arrangements with foreign Governments upon certain specified matters had been granted.

Various privileges had at that time been applied for by the Khedive, and among them that of having a Representative at foreign Governments. This had been peremptorily refused by the Porte, which, however, sanctioned his entering into certain direct arrangements with the foreign Agents. These Agents of the foreign Governments act by virtue of the Berats of the Sultan, and the Porte does not pretend to withdraw or modify the sanction that was given for their concluding the arrangements in question with the Egyptian Government.

But if the Viceroy wishes the negotiation to be carried on abroad, the Porte conceives it to be essential that the person charged with conducting it should, in the first instance, be presented by the Ottoman Ambassador, after which he will report his proceedings only to the Egyptian Government.

If this is not done, and the Viceroy is to be free to send a person to carry on negotiations at any foreign Court, it would approach very nearly to the right of representation, which was absolutely refused at the very time that the permission to carry on these negotiations was granted.

There is not, he would repeat, and never had been, the intention attributed to the Porte of interfering in the details of these negotiations.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 200.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, October 8, 1869.*

THE Viceroy has declared to the French Consul that he never even verbally asked the Sultan's sanction to the last loan. The Sultan, according to Aali Pasha, says he did. Endeavour to clear up this point.

No. 201.

Mr. West to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 9.)

(No. 55. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Paris, October 7, 1869.*

I TOLD Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne to-day that if the Governments of England and France were agreed upon the question of the necessity of the *status quo* between the Sultan and the Viceroy being maintained, a joint and decided action would surely be the best means of insuring it. The basis of the *status quo* appeared now to be that the Khedive should always do what he has hitherto done, and consequently ask permission of the Sultan to make a foreign loan.

The Prince said that he entirely agreed in this view of the case, but that he must show me a telegram which he had received from M. Tricon, the French Consul at Alexandria, stating that the Viceroy denied having ever, even verbally, asked the permission of the Sultan for the last loan, and that if this was the case the *status quo* (as understood by the Governments) would clearly leave him the right of doing what he had done before, namely, in such a case, of not asking the permission of the Sultan.

I told the Prince that from all I had heard from your Lordship I never doubted the fact of the permission of the Sultan having been asked by the Viceroy in the case of the last loan; that, of course, it changed the basis of the *status quo* if it were not so; and that I would immediately report what he had told me to your Lordship.

His Excellency said it was a point upon which it was necessary to have a clear understanding.

I have, &c.
(Signed) L. S. SACKVILLE WEST.

P.S.—I have sent a copy of this despatch to Mr. Elliot by Mr. Lionel Moore.

No. 202.

The Earl of Clarendon to Colonel Stanton.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, October 9, 1869.*

YOU are mistaken in supposing that the Viceroy did not ask the Sultan's permission for the loan of 1868.

He did so, and received it verbally; and it is also asserted at Constantinople that he asked permission for previous loans. If this is so, where is the occasion for the Viceroy now insisting on the formal concession? He has precluded himself from doing so by asking permission for the loan of 1868.

It is much for the interest of the Viceroy's creditors that he should not make fresh loans.

Under existing circumstances you should abstain from advising the Viceroy to go to Constantinople.

No. 203.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 10.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, October 9, 1869, night.*

I HAVE communicated your telegram of yesterday to Aali Pasha.

He says that the Sultan positively asserts that he gave a verbal sanction to the Viceroy's last loan, and trusts that His Majesty's word will not be called in question.

No. 204.

Colonel Stanton to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 10, night.)

(Telegraphic.) *Alexandria, October 10, 1869, 4 P.M.*

THE Viceroy maintains he did not ask the Sultan's permission for the loan of 1868, and declares the loan was concluded before his voyage to Constantinople, and consequently before he could have had an audience of the Sultan. The contract was, I believe, signed on board His Highness' yacht in the harbour of Alexandria.

No. 205.

Colonel Stanton to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 14.)

(No. 76.)
My Lord, *Alexandria, October 1, 1869.*

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of despatches addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople on the 27th ultimo.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. STANTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 205.

Colonel Stanton to Mr. Elliot.

Sir, *Cairo, September 27, 1869.*

SINCE the date of my last despatches to your Excellency, no change appears to have taken place, so far as this country is concerned, in the position of affairs between the Sultan and the Khedive. His Highness, still convinced that a journey to Constantinople under existing circumstances would be fatal to the interests of Egypt, appears to have made up his mind to postpone his visit of submission to the Sultan until the question he has raised as to the interpretation to be given to the text of the several Firmans regulating his position shall have been decided. His Highness trusts that the friendly intervention of the Great Powers will convince the Porte of the necessity of abandoning its pretensions of the right of interfering in the financial and other interior arrangements of Egypt, and believes the attitude he has taken to be the best for his own and for the large European interests at stake in this country.

In a conversation I had yesterday with His Highness, he informed me that, with regard to the iron-clad ships, he was ready to hand them over as soon as the Porte were ready to receive them; adding that, of course, he expected to receive payment for them before they were transferred. His Highness also informed me he had been able to cancel a contract in America for 40,000 stand of arms, and that as the contract now stood, only 60,000 were to be supplied; and as three stand of arms per man is generally considered a proper proportion for the requirements of an army, it appears to me this number, which is only two per man for the force recognized for Egypt, can hardly be seriously objected to by the Ottoman authorities.

I beg also to report to your Excellency that Nubar Pasha returned to Egypt on the 25th instant; and I am informed by his Excellency he is about to draw up an explanatory note on the subject of the existing dispute. His Excellency had promised to give me a copy of the document, which I shall lose no time in communicating to your Excellency.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. STANTON.

Inclosure 2 in No. 205.

Colonel Stanton to Mr. Elliot.

Sir, *Cairo, September* 27, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency that his Highness Tewfik Pasha, eldest son of the Khedive of Egypt, was this day invested with the Order of the Crown of Italy by Commander Aghemo, Chief the Private Cabinet of His Majesty the King of Italy.

The investiture took place with all the usual honours.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. STANTON.

No. 206.

Colonel Stanton to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 11.)

(No. 78.)
My Lord, *Alexandria, October* 2, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith to your Lordship a copy of the explanatory note on the subject of the dispute existing between the Sultan and the Khedive, which, as mentioned in my despatch of the 27th September to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, a copy of which was forwarded to your Lordship with my despatch No. 76 of the 1st instant, Nubar Pasha informed me he was about to draw up.

This note has only just reached me, and the immediate departure of the mail prevents my making any observation on its contents; but your Lordship will perceive that its object is to demonstrate to the Great Powers that the position now assumed by the Khedive is the one most likely to bring the questions at issue between the Sultan and His Highness to a satisfactory termination.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. STANTON.

Inclosure in No. 206.

Explanatory Note by Nubar Pasha, dated Cairo, October 1, 1869.

SON Altesse est d'opinion que le moyen le plus efficace pour arriver à une solution satisfaisante de la question actuelle avec la Sublime Porte, c'est de rester dans le *status quo*. Encore un peu de temps et Son Altesse espère que l'esprit d'animosité qui semble s'être emparé de quelques personnages à Constantinople se dissipera, et les difficultés se trouveront ainsi applanies d'elles-mêmes.

Sur les cinq points proposés par la Porte, quatre sont déjà ou complètement ou à peu près résolus; pour le cinquième on n'a qu'à le considérer sans passion pour le résoudre. Ainsi:—

1. Pour les frégates, la question a été résolue par Son Altesse conformément au désir exprimé par la Porte.

2. Pour les fusils, sur les 100,000 commandés, on est arrivé à temps pour en décommander 40,000; il ne reste conséquemment que 60,000, qui, pour servir à l'armement de 30,000 hommes, sont un chiffre inférieur au chiffre réglementaire.

3. Pour la réclamation élevée par la Porte au sujet des personnes que Son Altesse pourrait envoyer en Mission en Europe, le Vice-Roi répond n'avoir jamais prétendu qu'il eut le moindre droit de négocier avec les Puissances des questions ayant un caractère politique. Son droit sur ce point est défini par le Firman de 1867. Son Altesse a fait directement avec plusieurs Puissances des Conventions spéciales ayant pour objet la poste, le transit des munitions de guerre et des troupes, ainsi que le ravitaillement des vaisseaux de guerre dans les ports Egyptiens. Ce que Son Altesse a fait, il continuera à le faire, à savoir, d'entretenir directement les Puissances, soit par leurs Consuls-Généraux, soit par les fonctionnaires auxquels il confie une mission spéciale en Europe, des affaires de douane, de transit, de poste, et de police. Tous ces points sont spécialement désignés dans le Firman de 1867. D'ailleurs la Porte peut être rassurée sur ce point. Elle sait très bien que si Son Altesse, sans le vouloir, outrepassait jamais les droits que lui confère le Firman de 1867, les Puissances avec lesquelles elle voudrait traiter seraient les premières à lui en rappeler l'observation.

4. Pour le budget, Son Altesse n'a jamais pu penser que la Porte éleva sérieusement la prétention d'en demander la présentation. Ce serait retourner de vingt-huit ans en arrière. Ses informations d'ailleurs l'ont confirmé dans cette idée.

Ces quatre points peuvent donc être considérés comme parfaitement résolus.

Quant au cinquième point, "Autorisation préalable de contracter un emprunt." Ce point n'a pu recevoir et ne pourra recevoir de solution tant que la Porte insistera sur son acceptation. Cette demande semble au premier abord n'entrainer aucune conséquence: mais pour le Vice-Roi, d'un coté, elle équivaut à une dépossessive, et de l'autre coté elle ne donne pas à la Porte la garantie qu'elle prétend y voir. Si, par impossible, il pouvait y avoir des manières d'interpréter le Firman de 1867, l'emprunt de 1868, fait sans autorisation préalable et sans observation ultérieure de la part de la Porte, en fixerait le sens; mais pour n'envisager que la valeur pratique de cette mesure elle est loin de présenter la garantie que la Porte semble y voir. Si Son Altesse, en vue d'un travail d'utilité publique, a besoin d'emprunter, elle peut émettre des bons ou recourir à telle autre mesure, et se procurer les fonds nécessaires sans emprunt régulier, et conséquemment sans demande préalable. Mais pour Son Altesse consentir à demander cette autorisation préalable, c'est reconnaître et donner à la Porte le droit d'examiner si le travail que l'Administration Egyptienne veut entreprendre est nécessaire, utile, ou non. C'est conséquemment remettre à la décision de Constantinople les travaux publics de l'Egypte. Cette mesure, grave en tous pays, emprunte un caractère de gravité encore plus grand pour l'Egypte. Les travaux publics y sont la base de l'agriculture, ils constituent pour ainsi dire à eux seuls toute l'administration. Céder conséquemment sur ce point est chose complètement impossible pour Son Altesse. Mais heureusement la solution de cette question n'est pas pressante. Son Altesse, par son dernier contrat avec Messrs. Oppenheim, s'est enlevé la possibilité et le droit de faire un emprunt d'ici quatre ans. La question peut donc attendre sa solution; il n'y a pas péril en la demeure. Il semble donc à Son Altesse que le meilleur moyen, en vue d'une solution favorable, est d'attendre, ne point répondre pour ne pas envénimer la question, rester enfin dans le *status quo*.

(Signé) NUBAR.

No. 207.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Elliot.

(No. 339.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, October* 11, 1869.

I HAVE to acquaint your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government approve the language which you held to Aali Pasha, as reported in your despatch No. 419 of the 27th ultimo, respecting the Firmans of 1841, 1866, 1867, and the position of the Viceroy of Egypt.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 208.

Musurus Pasha to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 11.)

(Particulière et Confidentielle.)
My Lord, *Ambassade Impériale Ottomane, le* 11 *Octobre*, 1869.

JE m'empresse de transmettre à votre Excellence ci-joint en copie un télégramme que je reçois à l'instant de son Altesse Aali Pacha de Gallipoli. Je serai heureux d'être mis à même de faire parvenir au plus tôt à son Altesse la réponse que votre Excellence voudra bien faire à cette communication. En tout cas, je me réserve le plaisir d'aller voir votre Excellence après demain au Foreign Office.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) MUSURUS.

Inclosure in No. 208.

Aali Pasha to Musurus Pasha.

(Confidentielle.)
(Télégraphique.)

Gallipoli, le 10 Octobre, 1869.

L'IMPERATRICE des Français, l'Empereur d'Autriche, le Prince de Prusse, et plusieurs autres vont assister à l'ouverture du Canal de Suez. Si notre affaire ne reçoit pas une solution jusque là, la dignité de notre Souverain en souffrirait considérablement, et le public l'interpréterait comme une humiliation. Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan ne saurait accepter ce rôle. En conséquence, considérant qu'Ismail Pacha a laissé sans réponse le dernier télégramme que je lui ai adressé d'ordre de notre auguste Maître, considérant aussi que c'est sur le Firman de 1867 que le Pacha base arbitrairement son étrange prétention de contracter des emprunts étrangers sans autorisation préalable, Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan vient de décider que tous les effets du dit Firman seront suspendus, si le Khidiv ne prend, dans le délai de quelques jours qu'on fixera, l'engagement d'observer dorénavant toutes les conditions spécifiées dans les demandes de garantie. Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, pour prouver qu'il n'est pas animé de sentiments de défaveur personnels à l'égard du Pacha, mais qu'il ne fait que sauvegarder son droit souverain et inaliénable, le bien-être du peuple Egyptien, et l'intérêt des capitalistes étrangers, se trouve disposé à remettre en pleine vigueur le Firman en question, aussitôt que le Khidiv aura souscrit aux demandes de la Sublime Porte, et se sera rendu à Constantinople pour présenter ses hommages à son Souverain.

Vous êtes chargé de communiquer confidentiellement cette résolution à Lord Clarendon et à me transmettre par télégraphe ce que Sa Seigneurie vous aura dit. Nous attendons votre réponse avant de rien entreprendre.

No. 209.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. West.

(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, October 12, 1869.

AALI PASHA telegraphs to Musurus that if the question between the Porte and Viceroy is not settled before the time fixed for opening the Suez Canal, the Sultan, considering that the Viceroy has not answered the last telegram sent to him, and that he rests his right to contract foreign loans without previous permission on the Firman of 1867, will suspend that Firman unless the Viceroy, within a term of a few days to be fixed, engages hereafter to observe all the conditions specified in the demands of guarantee. The Sultan will be disposed to revive the Firman as soon as the Viceroy shall have submitted to the demands of the Sublime Porte, and proceeded to Constantinople to present his homage to the Sultan.

Show this immediately to La Tour, and let me know by telegraph what answer he thinks should be given. I have no doubt the Sultan will carry out his threat.

No. 210.

Mr. West to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 13.)

(Telegraphic.)

Paris, October 13, 1869, 2·30 P.M.

PRINCE LA TOUR D'AUVERGNE has stated to me in reply to your Lordship's telegram of yesterday, that he will telegraph to Constantinople to insist on *status quo* as agreed upon.

The menace of the withdrawal of the Firman was a vexatious proceeding on the part of the Sultan which the Emperor would resent. He could give me no further answer until he had seen His Imperial Majesty.

No. 211.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 14.)

(No. 421.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, October 2, 1869.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 420 of the 17th ultimo, I have the honour to inclose the copy of a despatch I have addressed to Colonel Stanton, informing him of the explanation given to me by the Grand Vizier of the demand of the Porte that the Agents of the Viceroy should be presented by the Ottoman Ambassador to the Ministers with whom they are to carry on negotiations upon the subjects on which the Khedive is empowered to enter into special arrangements.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 211.

Mr. Elliot to Colonel Stanton.

Sir,

Constantinople, October 2, 1869.

SOME misunderstanding seems to prevail as to the extent of the demand made by the Porte with reference to the Agents whom the Viceroy might send to negotiate with foreign Governments upon the subjects respecting which His Highness is empowered to make special arrangements.

His Highness appears to consider that the Porte requires that all such negotiations should, in the first place, receive the sanction of the Ottoman Ambassador, who is to be kept daily informed of their details, and of every step that may be taken in them.

I have inquired of Aali Pasha whether this was the meaning of the Porte, and have the satisfaction of informing you that His Highness wholly repudiates any such intention. The Grand Vizier assures me that the Porte does not propose to interfere with the negotiations which the Egyptian Government may enter upon with respect to the subjects in question.

It is simply required that the Agent selected by the Viceroy to carry them on should be presented to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, after which he will report his proceedings only to the Egyptian Government, and without interference from the Ambassador.

It is considered that, as the Sultan's Ambassadors assist at the audiences of the Viceroy with foreign Sovereigns, no just exception can be taken to a proposal that His Highness's Agents shall be similarly presented to the Minister with whom they are to carry on their negotiations.

I have, &c.
Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 212.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 14.)

(No. 424. Confidential.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, October 4, 1869.

AALI PASHA this morning warmly expressed his acknowledgments for the efforts which, as reported by Musurus Pasha, your Lordship is making to find an issue satisfactory to the Porte from the Egyptian difficulty.

The Sultan is, he says, extremely sensible of the renewed proof of interest thus given by your Lordship.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 213.

Mr. West to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 14.)

(No. 67. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Paris, October 13, 1869.*

AT an interview which I have just had with the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, I read to his Excellency, in French translation, the substance of your Lordship's telegraphic despatch of yesterday's date. His Excellency remarked that the Imperial Government would never consent to such a vexatious proceeding ("mauvais procédé") on the part of the Sultan towards the Viceroy; that at this moment particularly, such a menace came with a peculiarly bad grace, and he was sure the Emperor would view it in this light, and would resent it. His Excellency then went on to say that your Lordship seemed to think that he had not held language sufficiently decided at Alexandria in the matter of the pending differences between the Porte and the Khedive; but that he must remark, on the other hand, that he thought your Lordship seemed very much indisposed to hold any such decided language at Constantinople. It must be remembered that there were other Powers who might come to have a voice in the question; Russia, who for instance had manifested much soreness at not having been consulted, and who might not be unwilling to come forward, if matters were pushed to extremities. Under these circumstances he thought that the *status quo*, as agreed upon by the Governments of England and France, should be insisted on in a most decided manner at Constantinople, and his Excellency added that he would immediately intimate this to M. Bourrée. The Viceroy, he said, was, by the terms of the contract for the last loan, precluded from making any other foreign loan until the expiration of a period of four years, so that his hands were tied (as he had often expressed himself to me) in this respect. If he had asked permission to make foreign loans, the *status quo* presumed that he would do so; again if he had not asked permission (and after what had lately occurred, who was to decide this question?), the *status quo* presumed that such permission was not necessary. I told his Excellency that it appeared from the despatch I had just read to him that a new phase in the case had now presented itself, and I begged him to consider that an actual menace, which there was every probability would be carried out, was hanging over the Viceroy, and that it was useless any longer to ignore the gravity of the state of affairs; his Excellency said he could give me no further answer at present than that he trusted your Lordship would see the necessity of insisting in a decided manner upon the maintenance of the *status quo* at Constantinople. He asked me to leave with him the French translation I had read to him of the substance of your Lordship's telegram, which he was desirous of showing to the Emperor to-morrow at Compiègne. He would then take His Imperial Majesty's orders as to further measures, which, in concert with Her Majesty's Government, it might be deemed expedient to take, in order to prevent further and perhaps disastrous complications from arising in consequence of the step which the Sultan seemed prepared to take. I acceded to his Excellency's request, and trust that your Lordship will approve of my having done so. His Excellency ended by saying he would immediately communicate with me after he had seen the Emperor.

I have, &c.
(Signed) L. S. SACKVILLE WEST.

No. 214.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. West.

(No. 72.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, October 14, 1869.*

I HAVE received and laid before the Queen your despatch No. 67 of the 13th instant, and I have to state to you that I approve the language held by you in the conversation you have had with his Excellency the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne respecting the differences between the Sultan and the Viceroy.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 215.

Mr. Bonar to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 15.)

(No. 104.)
My Lord, *Berne, October 10, 1869.*

I TOOK the opportunity of a conversation with the President of the Confederation yesterday, to inquire whether any further steps had been taken by the Federal Government in the matter of the enrolments which were carried on some time ago in this country for the service of the Viceroy of Egypt, and which had been put a stop to and prohibited by order of the High Federal Council, under the circumstances related to your Lordship in my despatch No. 91 of the 10th ultimo.

His Excellency told me that no further measures had been deemed necessary. He was convinced that throughout the Confederation those enlistments had ceased, and would not again be suffered by the Cantonal Governments.

But the Federal Government has been invited by the Viceroy of Egypt to the inauguration of the Suez Canal. Although no member of the Federal Council will be able to attend that ceremony, a deputation will be selected to represent them; and to the gentlemen composing that body will be entrusted the task to inquire on the spot into the real circumstances and nature of the body of troops for which the said enrolments took place in Switzerland.

They will report thereupon to the Federal Council; but they will also be instructed to take steps when in Egypt to make known to their several countrymen, collectively and individually, who have taken service, the real state of the Federal law as it may apply to them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. G. G. BONAR.

No. 216.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 15.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, October 15, 1869.*

THE French Ambassador informs me in strict confidence that he has received a telegram from his Government expressing the surprise with which they learnt that there is a question of suspending the Firman of 1867, if the Porte does not receive satisfaction from the Viceroy within a given time.

The telegram concludes by saying that they would regard any such proceeding as offensive to themselves.

When the Grand Vizier has hinted to me that this measure might be adopted, I endeavoured to dissuade him from taking such an extreme step, but to be satisfied with a Firman declaratory of the previous one.

If this course is not followed it would, I believe, be better to cancel the Firman of 1867 altogether, and to issue a new one distinctly worded, rather than to suspend it and leave the question undecided.

Aali Pasha shows the utmost confidence in your Lordship's advice, and will not take any step without informing you.

No. 217.

Colonel Stanton to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 18.)

(No. 81.)
My Lord, *Alexandria, October 7, 1869.*

I HAVE the honour to report, in reply to your Lordship's despatch No. 59 of the 18th ultimo, transmitting for my information copies of despatches from Mr. Bonar respecting the enlistments which have been made in Switzerland for the service of the Viceroy of Egypt, that the inquiries I have made on this subject convince me there has been much exaggeration in the reports submitted to the Federal Council. The Egyptian Government has certainly at present about 100 Europeans, chiefly, if not entirely, Swiss, employed in its police service; these men are actually incorporated in the police force, which has lately been remodelled and placed under the command of an Italian as Chief of the Police. Fifty of these Europeans are employed at Alexandria and fifty at Cairo, and in each of these towns 150 well-conducted men (natives) have been selected

from the army to act with them and to learn the duties of policemen, which, up to the present time, have been most inefficiently performed by the Government cawasses. Great care has, I believe, been taken in the selection both of Europeans and natives for the formation of this force, which is placed under the strictest discipline, and every infraction of duty is, I am informed, attended with immediate dismissal; and I am happy to be able to state to your Lordship that since the introduction of this force several arrests have been made of malefactors who, under the old system, would probably have remained in perfect security.

I am unable to account for the report made by the four or five men to the Swiss Consul at Genoa, as mentioned in Mr. Bonar's despatch No. 91 of the 10th September, that on their arrival in Egypt they had discovered that they were not destined to form part of a police force, but were to be incorporated in a foreign legion which was being formed in this country.

I can only assure your Lordship I have no knowledge of any such foreign legion being in course of formation, nor can I ascertain that there is the slightest foundation for believing such to be case; and I have further the most positive assurances from his Excellency Cherif Pasha that there is not a shadow of truth in the report.

His Excellency told me that three or four men had been dismissed from the police force for drunkenness and insubordination, and it is probable these are the same who gave the report in question to the Swiss Consul at Genoa.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. STANTON.

No. 218.

Colonel Stanton to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 18.)

(No. 82.)
My Lord, *Alexandria, October 7, 1869.*

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that at an audience with the Khedive on the 5th instant, His Highness stated to me he had just been informed by the Acting Agent and Consul-General of France that he had received a telegram from the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne to the effect that he had been assured, by the Ottoman Ambassador at Paris, that the Khedive had verbally demanded the Sultan's authorization before contracting the loan of 1868.

His Highness remarked that from such a statement having been made it was evident the Ottoman authorities wished to place him in the awkward position of being obliged to contradict an assertion made by the Sultan. His Highness declared that no such verbal authorization had been demanded, and remarked that the contract for the loan in question had been signed before his voyage to Constantinople, and consequently before he could have had an audience with the Sultan.

My own recollection of the circumstances of the signing of this contract confirms His Highness' statement, and I believe the terms of the loan were concluded and the contract signed on board His Highness' yacht at Alexandria, before his departure from Egypt.

It may, moreover, be remarked that if His Highness actually demanded the Sultan's authority to conclude the loan in question, it was hardly necessary for the Grand Vizier to insist so strongly on this point in His Highness' last letter to the Khedive.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. STANTON.

No. 219.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 19.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, October 18, 1869.*

THE French Ambassador has communicated to the Grand Vizier the telegram of his Government, stating that the suspension of the Firman of 1867 would be regarded as offensive towards themselves. His Highness replied that the Firman not having been granted through negotiation with the French Government, he did not see why they should consider themselves in any way affected by its suspension, if the Porte found such a proceeding necessary.

No. 220.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 20.)

(No. 433.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, October 6, 1869.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of the answer I have returned to Colonel Stanton's despatch, of which he sent a copy to your Lordship, respecting the Viceroy's adjournment of his visit to Constantinople, and the arms that he had contracted for.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 220.

Mr. Elliot to Colonel Stanton.

Sir, *Constantinople, October 6, 1869.*

I HAVE received your despatch of the 27th ultimo, reporting that the Viceroy still believed that it would be better for him to postpone his visit of submission to Constantinople, till the settlement of the questions at issue between him and the Porte.

At the beginning of the unfortunate misunderstanding both the French Ambassador and myself were strongly of opinion that His Highness' presence here would greatly facilitate an arrangement being come to, but we advocated it solely as a means of arriving at that result rather than as an act of submission.

The statement made to you by the Viceroy of there being only 60,000 stand of arms to be supplied to him, since he had been able to cancel an order for 40,000 in America, is greatly at variance with the information received by the Porte, which has certified copies of different contracts of arms to be furnished to His Highness, amounting in all, as I am assured, to above 200,000 stand.

I do not apprehend that any difficulty would be made here if the number is limited to the 60,000 alluded to by His Highness.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 221.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 20.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, October 19, 1869.*

I HAVE sent the following telegram to Colonel Stanton:—

"The Ottoman Government has received information that fifty-seven cases of breech-loading rifles, to be followed by a larger number, manufactured at Brescia, had arrived at Brindisi, and been forwarded to Alexandria to Messrs. Coen and Co., the Viceroy's Agents."

No. 222.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 23.)

(No. 436.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, October 9, 1869.*

I AT once sent Mr. Pisani to Aali Pasha to say that your Lordship had informed me that the Viceroy had denied to the French Consul having received the Sultan's sanction to the last loan, and to ask him to clear this question up.

The Grand Vizier said that, if any doubt were entertained of his accuracy, either M. Bourée or myself might easily ascertain the fact from the Sultan's own lips; for His Majesty positively affirms that he gave his verbal sanction to the loan, and Aali Pasha trusts his assertion will not be doubted.

If the Sultan were to imagine that the Viceroy called his word in question, his indignation would certainly be great.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 223.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 23.)

(No. 441.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, October* 11, 1869.

THE explanatory note by Nubar Pasha on the differences between the Porte and the Viceroy, inclosed in Colonel Stanton's despatch to your Lordship No. 78 of the 2nd instant, does not add to the prospect of arriving at a satisfactory adjustment of them.

The resolution of the Viceroy announced by Nubar Pasha of remaining in what he calls the *status quo*, and of not answering the Grand Vizier's letter, will unquestionably be regarded here as a persistence in a line of marked disrespect to the Sultan. The Grand Vizier's letter to the Khedive was written by His Majesty's orders, and a total neglect of it by the Viceroy will not be accepted here with indifference.

The long delay which has already occurred has frequently been alluded to by the Grand Vizier as evidence of the Viceroy's contumacy and want of proper consideration for his Sovereign; and, although I have always insisted that there could be no advantage in His Highness answering it only to repeat his unwillingness to comply with the demands of the Porte, my arguments evidently went little way in removing the impression that his continued silence was daily adding to his offence.

Nubar Pasha assumes that four out of the five points may be regarded as settled, and that the fifth, calling for no immediate solution, may be allowed to rest in its present state.

I doubt if he is correct in the first part of his supposition.

The most important of all the demands, which relates to the iron-clads, is certainly adjusted; but the discrepancy between the number of rifles asserted by the Porte to have been ordered by the Viceroy and that which His Highness admits will require clearing up.

I likewise greatly doubt whether the Porte would accept as satisfactory the explanation given by Nubar Pasha, respecting the Agents who may have to negotiate with foreign Governments the arrangements which the Viceroy is entitled to make; for he seems to have misunderstood the nature of the demand made by the Porte upon this head. It was, as I have already stated to your Lordship, to the effect that any Egyptian Agent charged with a negotiation on behalf of the Viceroy should be presented *ad hoc* by the Ottoman Representative to the Government with whom he is going to carry it on.

It does not appear from Nubar Pasha's note that this demand is conceded; but he says, on the contrary, that his Highness will continue to communicate directly with the Powers upon the matters in question, either by their Consuls-General or through the functionaries whom he may "entrust with a special mission in Europe."

The right of independent representation to foreign Governments, which seems to be implied in this phrase, is a point upon which, as I need not remind your Lordship, the Porte has always shown itself most sensitive, and upon which, I have little doubt, it will be found no less tenacious.

The importance of the question regarding the previous authorization of foreign loans has certainly, as Nubar Pasha states, been greatly exaggerated by the Porte, and the benefit of their requirement may, perhaps, be doubtful; but the matter has now become one of dignity upon each side. The Sultan has twice over made a demand which he can hardly be expected openly to withdraw, and the Viceroy has answered by a refusal which it is no less difficult for him to recall; and although if, as stated in Nubar Pasha's note, the question could be allowed to be indefinitely adjourned, it might very probably cause no further embarrassment, I cannot but express the conviction that a neglect by the Egyptian Government to notice the last letter addressed, by the Sultan's order, to the Viceroy will certainly be followed by further action on the part of the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 224.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 23.)

(No. 442. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, October* 11, 1869.

I SAW the Grand Vizier two days ago, when I observed to him that the Viceroy being debarred by the conditions of the last loan from making another for four years, it seemed very unnecessary to insist at the present moment upon his entering into an engagement with respect to it, and I asked what course he proposed to follow if the Viceroy abstained from answering his last letter.

Aali Pasha said that the demand of the Porte had been deliberately put forward, and could not now be recalled.

He could not say what course would be adopted if, to the grounds of complaint already existing against him, the Viceroy added that of declining to notice the letters written to him by the Sultan's orders; all that he could say was that the matter would not be allowed to end thus, and perhaps the most probable action to be taken by the Porte would be the suspension of the Firman of 1867.

I said that this would be a most undesirable step, and I hoped he would consider its consequences well before taking it.

His Highness begged me to remark that he had only spoken of the suspension, and not of the abrogation, of the Firman, and asked if any one could seriously consider it possible for the Sultan to remain altogether passive in the present position of affairs.

I repeated that the measure he had hinted at seemed to me to be objectionable in any shape; that if it was thought absolutely necessary in some manner to assert the Sultan's authority, this would be better done by a declaratory Firman confirming and defining the Firman of 1867, rather than by one pronouncing its suspension.

The question of the loans not requiring an immediate solution, it may be expected that the relations between the Sultan and the Viceroy would have recovered their proper footing long before it could cause any practical inconvenience; whereas the suspension of the privileges must not only aggravate the ill-feeling, but indefinitely prolong the present unsatisfactory state of irritation.

If the Viceroy is unwilling to agree to the course suggested by your Lordship, it will certainly not be possible to prevent the Porte from taking some further measures, and I believe that while a declaratory Firman, such as I have above alluded to, might be regarded as sufficient assertion of the Sultan's authority, it would have the advantage of not calling for any promise or guarantee from the Viceroy, and be in every respect better than any means of coercion against his Highness.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 225.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 23.)

(No. 443.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, October* 11, 1869.

IT can hardly fail to be asked why, if the Viceroy had obtained the Sultan's sanction for the last loan, it should have been necessary to put forward as a condition that no future loans should be made without the authorization of the Porte.

The explanation of it is, that the sanction having been given verbally, the Grand Vizier was not at first aware of it, and it was not till after the demand had been put forward that he learned from the Sultan that he had granted the permission in question at an audience to which the Viceroy had been introduced by Fuad Pasha.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 226.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 23.)

Constantinople, October 22, 1869.

(Telegraphic.)

AALI PASHA yesterday informed the French Ambassador that the Sultan could not submit any longer to the silence of the Viceroy, and that the Firman of 1867 would probably be suspended.

I have, however, seen his Highness to-day, and he will, I think, abstain from taking any such step during the presence in Egypt of the Empress and other Royal personages.

His Highness proceeds on Monday to Rousschouk to meet the Emperor of Austria.

No. 227.

Mr. West to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 23.)

(No. 89. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Paris, October* 22, 1869.

AT an interview which I had yesterday with Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, his Excellency read to me a despatch which he had addressed to M. de Contades on the subject

of the existing differences between the Porte and the Khedive. He said that perhaps owing to your Lordship's absence from London, M. de Contades had not had an opportunity of speaking to your Lordship respecting its contents. The despatch was, as far as I can remember, dated the 16th instant. Its general tenour was moderate, and showed every disposition on the part of the French Government to smooth the irritation of the contending parties, the Prince more than once remarking upon the expediency of inducing the Khedive to put himself on more amicable terms with the Sultan. The most important point in the despatch, however, was the suggestion as to the interpretation of the *status quo*, as regards the right of the Khedive to make foreign loans with or without the Sultan's permission.

The French Government, his Excellency said, were prepared to admit that a verbal permission had been given by the Sultan to the Viceroy for the loan of 1868, and that therefore the *status quo* would mean that such verbal permission should in all future cases be asked by the Viceroy. When his Excellency had finished reading the despatch he said that this suggestion emanated entirely from the Emperor, who hoped that it might be made the means of arriving at a peaceable solution of the question. All other points, he said, seemed disposed of satisfactorily. The matter of the ships, arms, and budget, had been more or less arranged, although Aali Pasha seemed always desirous of bringing them up again. I said that I was sure your Lordship would learn with satisfaction that the French Government gave credence to the Sultan's word in the matter of the loan, and that they were prepared, in consequence, to understand the *status quo* as upholding the Sultan's rights in this respect. When I mentioned the question of the Viceroy engaging not to impose new taxes, his Excellency said he hoped it would not be necessary to interfere too much in internal financial affairs, and that he trusted no fresh complications would now arise.

Before I left the Prince read to me a communication which I understood him to say he had received from the Italian Legation ("des Italiens") to the effect that the Viceroy had declared that he should consider the withdrawal of the Firman of 1867 by the Sultan as a declaration of war, and that he should defend his rights by every means in his power.

His Excellency asked me if I had received any such intelligence, and at the same time said he should write to Alexandria counselling moderation and impressing on all those concerned the necessity of abstaining from hostile demonstrations.

I told his Excellency I had heard nothing from your Lordship on the subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) L. S. SACKVILLE WEST

No. 228.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. West.

(No. 99.)
Sir,

Foreign Office, October 23, 1869.

I HAVE received, and laid before the Queen, your despatch No. 89 of the 22nd instant, marked Confidential, in which you report the substance of a communication made to you by his Excellency the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne on the subject of the existing differences between the Porte and the Khedive; and I have to instruct you to inform his Excellency that Her Majesty's Government learn with satisfaction the interpretation of the *status quo* by the Imperial Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 228*.

Colonel Stanton to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 23.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, October 23, 1869.

I COMMUNICATED to Nubar Pasha the substance of your Lordships telegram of the 15th with the request that he would procure me an answer from the Viceroy, and have received from his Excellency this day a reply to the following effect:—His Highness replies most categorically he neither gave explanations nor demanded verbally any authorization on the subject of the loan.

No. 229.

Colonel Stanton to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 24.)

(Telegraphic.)

Cairo, October 23, 1869.

I COMMUNICATED to Nubar Pasha the substance of your Lordship's telegram of the 15th, with the request that he would promise me an answer from the Viceroy, and have received from his Excellency this day a reply to the following effect:—

His Highness replies most categorically he neither gave explanations nor demanded verbally authorization on the subject of the loan.

No. 230.

Musurus Pasha to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 24.)

My Lord,

Ambassade Impériale Ottomane, le 24 *Octobre*, 1869.

JE me fais un plaisir de communiquer à votre Excellence, ci-joint en copie, un télégramme que je reçois à l'instant de son Altesse Aali Pacha.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) MUSURUS.

Inclosure in No. 230.

Aali Pasha to Musurus Pasha.

(Télégraphique.)

Constantinople, le 23 *Octobre*, 1869.

RECU télégramme No. 104.

Nous partageons l'avis de Lord Clarendon. Nous nous abstiendrons de procéder à l'exécution de la décision Impériale pendant le séjour de l'Impératrice en Egypte; mais nous espérons qu'en considération de ce témoignage d'égard, les Cabinets voudront bien agir auprès d'Ismail Pacha pour la solution prompte et satisfaisante de l'affaire.

No. 231.

The Earl Clarendon to Mr. West.

(No. 100.)
Sir,

Foreign Office, October 25, 1869.

I INCLOSE a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople* relative to the explanation given of the differences between the Porte and the Viceroy in Nubar Pasha's note, of which a copy was inclosed in Colonel Stanton's despatch No. 78.

You will communicate the substance of Mr. Elliot's despatch to Prince de la Tour Auvergne.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 232.

Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne to Viscount de Contades.—(Communicated to the Earl of Clarendon by Viscount de Contades, October 27.)

Monsieur,

Paris, le 3 *Octobre*, 1869.

DANS l'entretien que vous avez eu avec Lord Clarendon, le 20 de ce mois, le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat est revenu sur les considérations qu'il vous avait déjà développées au sujet de l'attitude du Vice-Roi à l'égard du Gouvernement Ottoman. Il vous a répété que d'après ses informations ce Prince fonderait sa confiance sur l'appui qu'il attend de nous, et ne se montrerait nullement disposé à donner à la Porte les satisfactions nécessaires à l'apaisement du différend. Je ne puis, de mon côté, que m'en référer sur ce point aux démarches que nous avons faites à Alexandrie dès le début des difficultés actuelles. Notre langage a été aussi ferme qu'invariable. Toute ma correspondance avec notre Consul-Général en Egypte renferme à cet égard les recommandations les plus pressantes, et celle de notre Agent atteste également les efforts qu'il n'a cessé de faire pour remplir les instructions du Gouvernement de l'Empereur. Il n'a pas manqué d'ailleurs de se concerter

* No. 223.

à ce sujet avec son collègue d'Angleterre, et j'ai lieu de croire que les représentations des deux Cabinets auprès du Vice-Roi ont marché jusqu'ici en parfait accord. D'après la dépêche ci-jointe que je reçois aujourd'hui de M. Tricon, ces efforts, sans amener un résultat définitif, aurait en dernier lieu exercé une influence favorable sur les dispositions du Vice-Roi.

Le Gouvernement de l'Empereur se refuse donc à penser que toute chance de rapprochement soit évanouie, mais en même temps que le Vice-Roi nous paraît animé de dispositions conciliantes, nous estimons que la Turquie, de son côté, doit abandonner entièrement le projet de procéder par les moyens comminatoires. Elle ne peut élever légitimement aucune objection contre le *status quo*, et le *status quo* se trouve aujourd'hui parfaitement défini par les éclaircissements dont l'affaire des emprunts a été l'objet en dernier lieu. Nous admettons, comme je vous l'ai dit et comme cela résulte des déclarations elles-mêmes de la Porte, que l'autorisation du Sultan a été demandée verbalement, ou du moins que des explications ont été fournies dans cette forme par le Vice-Roi pour l'emprunt de 1868. Il est juste, selon nous, de prendre ce qui s'est fait dans cette circonstance pour règle des obligations du Vice-Roi dans l'avenir. Cette combinaison concilie tous les intérêts en même temps qu'elle satisfait, nous le croyons, à toutes les prétentions légitimes; mais exiger davantage et contraindre le Vice-Roi à demander, comme avant le Firman de 1867, l'autorisation officielle du Sultan pour contracter de nouveaux emprunts, ce serait dévier en réalité du *status quo*.

Nous rendrions ainsi la conciliation beaucoup plus difficile, et cela sans nécessité.

En effet, la combinaison que nous suggérons n'impose véritablement aucun sacrifice à la Porte, puisque son autorisation serait toujours sollicitée sous une forme non-officielle, et en outre il faut considérer, ainsi que nous l'avons déjà fait remarquer, qu'en raison des engagements pris par le Vice-Roi envers les souscripteurs du dernier emprunt, l'éventualité d'un nouvel appel à faire au crédit étranger ne saurait se présenter avant quatre ans. On ne concevrait donc pas que la Porte insistât pour maintenir dans toute leur vigueur ses demandes primitives en ce qui touche à la question des emprunts.

Or, cette question est la seule qui retarde un arrangement; sur toutes les autres, ou la Porte est disposée à abandonner ses exigences ou le Vice-Roi est décidé à la désintéresser entièrement.

Cette remarque s'applique notamment au budget, dont le Gouvernement Ottoman, d'après le langage du Grand Vizir avec M. Bourée, consentira à ne pas réclamer la production.

J'ajouterai qu'il ne saurait se présenter aucune difficulté pour les impôts. Dans ses communications au Vice-Roi, Aali Pacha n'a prononcé ce mot que pour en arriver à formuler la prétention du Gouvernement Ottoman sur les budgets, et l'idée d'un engagement à prendre au sujet des impôts est venue uniquement de Nubar Pacha; elle fesait partie de la transaction qu'il a soumise sans succès à l'approbation du Khedive, mais elle n'est pas comprise au nombre des demandes énoncées par la Porte. D'après le compte-rendu de votre entretien avec Lord Clarendon, il existerait à ce sujet dans son esprit une confusion que je crois devoir vous signaler.

Quant au droit de négocier directement avec les Gouvernements, vous verrez par la dépêche de M. Tricon, que le Vice-Roi en fait bon marché; il déclare consentir à ce que ses Envoyés soient introduits auprès des Ministres étrangers par les Ambassadeurs du Sultan.

Nous espérons que dans cet état de choses le Cabinet de Londres reconnaîtra avec nous l'opportunité de faire à Constantinople une nouvelle tentative de conciliation, et la suggestion dont je vous ai prié de faire part à Lord Clarendon me paraît de nature à servir de base à un arrangement équitable. Je serais donc heureux que le Gouvernement Anglais y donnât son assentiment, et qu'il voulût bien unir ses efforts aux nôtres pour agir en ce sens auprès des deux parties intéressées. J'attends avec beaucoup d'intérêt votre réponse, et j'attacherais du prix à la recevoir en temps opportun pour pouvoir adresser mes instructions à M. Bourée par le courrier à Vendredi prochain.

Recevez, &c.
(Signé) PCE. DE LA TOUR D'AUVERGNE.

Inclosure in No. 232.

M. Tricon to Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne.

Le Caire, le 18 Octobre, 1869.

Prince,

J'AI reçu la lettre que votre Excellence m'a fait l'honneur de m'écrire sous le No. 12. Dans les divers entretiens que j'ai eus ces jours-ci avec le Khedive, je me suis attaché

à calmer l'irritation que lui ont causée les derniers procédés de la Porte. Je crois y être parvenu en partie.

Cependant je n'ai pu amener encore Son Altesse à rompre le silence obstiné qu'elle garde vis-à-vis du Sultan. Ismail Pacha craint, en écrivant, de donner à ses adversaires des armes contre lui. "Il n'y a pas à proprement parler de question Egyptienne," me disait-il ce matin; "si le différend existe encore, c'est que la Porte semble avoir intérêt à le perpétuer. En effet les points qui nous divisent sont bien insignifiants. En ce qui touche les négociations que je pourrais suivre en Europe, je consens à ce que mes Envoyés soient introduits auprès des Ministres étrangers par les Ambassadeurs de Sa Majesté Impériale. A l'égard de l'autorisation en matière d'emprunt rien n'empêche le Sultan de me dénier un droit que je crois avoir; mais ce serait trop exiger de moi que de vouloir me faire consacrer ma propre spoliation. Je ne saurais avouer que j'ai tort quand je puise le sentiment de mon droit dans une robuste conviction. Comme je vous l'ai déjà dit, je ne peux contracter d'emprunt d'ici à quatre ans; il sera donc loisible au Gouvernement Ottoman de s'opposer à cette époque à la conclusion de ceux que je pourrais avoir le dessein de faire sans son agrément. Quant au budget, la Porte elle-même paraît avoir compris qu'elle serait mal fondée à en demander la production." Le Vice-Roi a ajouté que si la Puissance Suzeraine suspendait le Firman de 1867, elle le mettrait peut-être dans le cas de suspendre, de son côté, le service du tribut.

Sa Majesté l'Impératrice est attendue le 22 à Alexandrie.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) TRICON.

No. 233.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 27.)

(No. 447. Confidential.)

Constantinople, October 15, 1869.

My Lord,

THE Grand Vizier is strongly of opinion that is very desirable that the Sultan should himself proceed to Egypt for the opening of the Suez Canal.

The visit of the Emperor of Austria will, he think, afford an excellent opportunity for the Sultan to inform His Imperial Majesty of his intention of receiving him in Egypt in person.

The prolonged absence of any reply from the Viceroy to the last letter written by the Sultan's orders has, however, so greatly increased His Majesty's irritation that Aali Pasha has not yet ventured to propose it to him.

As an illustration of the attitude adopted by the Viceroy towards the Sultan, even previous to the misunderstanding now prevailing, I may mention that, although His Highness invited Princes from every Court in Europe to attend the opening of the Canal, no intimation of any sort was made to the Porte that such an event was about to take place.

When His Highness was here about a twelvemonth back, he said that he hoped the opening would be in the present year; but I am assured by Aali Pasha that from that time to this no further communication has been received on the subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 234.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 27.)

(No. 451. Confidential.)

Constantinople, October 18, 1869.

My Lord,

THE French Ambassador three days ago received a telegram from his Government expressing the surprise with which they had learnt, through Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Paris, that the Porte entertained the intention of suspending the Firman of 1867 if they do not within a given time receive from the Viceroy the assurances which they require.

The telegram concludes with the observation that any such proceeding would be regarded by the Emperor's Government as offensive ("comme un mauvais procédé") towards themselves.

I learn from the Grand Vizier that this telegram having been communicated to him by M. Bourée, he had answered with some vivacity that he did not see what ground the French Government had for regarding themselves as in any way affected by the suspension of the Firman if the Porte should find themselves constrained to resort to such a step.

The Firman was the spontaneous act of the Sultan, and had not been negotiated through the French Government, who were, therefore, in no way connected with it.

When the Grand Vizier has hinted to me that the Porte might have to resort to the suspension of the Firman, I endeavoured, as I have already informed your Lordship, to dissuade him from taking such an extreme step, and to be satisfied with issuing one that should be simply declaratory of the privileges that had been conveyed by the former one.

If this course is not followed, it would, I believe, be better to cancel the instrument of 1867 altogether, and to issue a new one so distinctly worded as to make all misunderstanding impossible, rather than to suspend it, and leave the question undecided.

If the Firman were to be suspended till the Viceroy gives the assurance required by the Porte, the present position of affairs would be indefinitely prolonged, for His Highness would consider his dignity involved in a persistance in his refusal.

Either a declaratory Firman, or one substituted for that of 1867, would be free from this objection, and would entail no open act of submission on the part of the Khedive, who would have to confine himself to a protest against it, unless he resorted to some overt act of defiance of the Sultan, which he will not venture upon without the certainty of receiving European support.

I am, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 235.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. West.

(No. 142.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, October* , 1869.

WITH reference to your despatch No. 89, Confidential, of the 22nd instant, I have to acquaint you that the French Chargé d'Affaires has communicated to me this afternoon a despatch from Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, dated yesterday, on the subject of the differences between the Sultan and the Viceroy of Egypt.

Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, in the first place, disclaims any lukewarmness on the part of the French Government in its endeavours to induce the Viceroy to give all necessary satisfaction to the Porte, and he refers to a report dated the 18th of October received from the Consul-General in Egypt, in which, in regard to the loan question, the Viceroy is stated to have said that there was nothing to prevent the Sultan from denying the existence of a right which the Viceroy considered that he possessed; but it was too much to expect of the Viceroy that he should be asked to admit what he considered an act of spoliation directed against himself.

The French Government will not, therefore, abandon the hope of being able to effect a settlement, but it thinks that as the Viceroy on his side shows a conciliatory disposition, the Porte for its part ought to abstain from any menacing proceedings.

The Porte should abide by the *status quo*, and the result of the communications which have passed on that point would seem to establish that, in regard to the loan of 1868, the assent of the Sultan was verbally applied for by the Viceroy, or, at all events, explanations were given by the Viceroy to that effect. What happened in regard to that loan might be held to constitute the rule for the Viceroy's conduct under similar circumstances hereafter; while to require the Viceroy to apply as before the issue of the Firman of 1867 for the official permission of the Sultan to contract fresh loans would, in point of fact, be a departure from the *status quo*. The practical result would be that the assent of the Porte would be always sought in an unofficial manner, and considering that no question of the kind can arise for the next four years, the Porte might well desist from insisting on the extreme demands that it has made.

I have to authorise you to state to Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne that Her Majesty's Government concur with the view of this matter expressed in his despatch, and will instruct Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople to co-operate with his French colleague in bringing it to the notice of the Porte.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 236.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Elliot.

(No. 353.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, October* 27, 1869.

I HAVE received your despatch No. 442, Confidential, of the 11th instant, reporting your conversation with the Grand Vizier on the subject of the proposed coercive measures against the Viceroy, and I have to acquaint your Excellency that I approve of your language on that occasion.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 237.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Elliot.

(No. 354. Most Confidential.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, October* 28, 1869.

I TRANSMIT to you, for your Excellency's information, a copy of a despatch from His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires in Paris on the subject of the existing differences between the Porte and the Khedive.*

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 238.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Elliot.

(No. 355.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, October* 28, 1869.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 354 of this day, I inclose, for your Excellency's information, a copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Paris† on the subject of the differences which have arisen between the Sultan and the Viceroy of Egypt; and I have to state to your Excellency with regard to these differences that Her Majesty's Government concur in the interpretation of the *status quo* as given by Prince la Tour d'Auvergne, and I have to instruct your Excellency therefore to act in conjunction with your French colleague in procuring the assent of the Porte to the proposed arrangement, which will virtually satisfy its demands.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 239.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 30.)

(No. 455.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, October* 21, 1869.

I COMMUNICATED confidentially to Aali Pasha, Colonel Stanton's despatch No. 82 of the 7th instant, respecting the Viceroy's denial of having received the Sultan's authorization for the loan of 1868, and asked if he had any remark to make upon what was said with reference to the loan having been contracted for before the Viceroy left Egypt.

His Highness reiterated that the Khedive had asked for and obtained the Sultan's sanction, and if he had already signed the contract, his application to His Majesty only proved his consciousness of such an authorization being necessary.

The Sultan's declaration upon this point being explicit, Aali Pasha will not admit any question or discussion with regard to it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

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* No. 227. † No. 235.

No. 240.

Mr. West to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 30.)

(No. 102. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Paris, October 29, 1869.*

IN obedience to the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch No. 100 of the 25th instant, I have communicated to the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne the subject of Mr. Elliot's despatch to your Lordship No. 441 of the 11th instant, copy of which was inclosed therein. His Excellency observed that Mr. Elliot was under a misapprehension as to the demand of the Porte that the Agents sent by the Viceroy to negotiate with foreign Governments should be presented by the Ottoman Representative to the Government with which they might be desirous of treating, not having been acceded to by the Viceroy in a manner which would prove satisfactory to the Sultan, because he said he had received a despatch from Cairo which he proceeded to read to me, in which it was, as I should see, distinctly stated that the Viceroy had consented that any Agent he might send to negotiate with foreign Governments should be presented by the Ottoman Representative. I said that if this were so, another difficulty in the way of the settlement of the dispute would be removed.

The Prince then continued to comment in very decided language, upon the apparent desire of the Sultan to introduce questions for the consideration of the Governments of France and England, which had no relation to the five points upon which the dispute in the first instance turned, namely:—

1. The ships.
2. The arms.
3. Independent representation.
4. Budget.
5. Foreign loan.

Four of these points had been, he considered, satisfactorily disposed of, and there only remained the fifth point, which was the subject of our present conversation, and which he had trusted would have been met by the suggestion which he had made in a despatch to M. de Contades, and which had been communicated to your Lordship. Beyond these points the Government of the Emperor would not go; nor would it entertain the menace of the Sultan (for such it amounted to) of producing a dangerous complication in Eastern affairs, by withdrawing the Firmans and having recourse to violent measures against the Viceroy, on the plea that the basis of the *status quo*, as understood and agreed upon by the Governments of France and England, were not all that he could desire. The French Government were determined not to discuss other extraneous questions respecting the relations of the Porte and Khedive, or to be drawn into complications by the Sultan's menaces.

I told his Excellency that I did not see anything in what he had said which need in the least affect the joint action of the Governments of England and France in this matter. Your Lordship was, I was convinced, as desirous as he could be of not bringing what he called extraneous questions into discussion, and that Her Majesty's Government only sought the means of satisfying the dignity of a Sovereign, which, by the offensive attitude assumed by a vassal, he was entitled to vindicate.

I then said that your Lordship had received with satisfaction the communication of his Excellency's despatch to M. de Contades to the effect that the *status quo* will be the Viceroy asking permission to make loans and inviting our concurrence at Constantinople towards bringing about a reconciliation on that basis. I added at the same time that his Excellency could not but see the necessity (if the joint efforts of the Ambassadors of England and France were to be of avail in effecting such a reconciliation) of obtaining from the Viceroy a written declaration to that effect.

The Prince replied that the attitude which the Viceroy had assumed towards his Sovereign could not be defended; and to prove that such was the opinion of the French Government he read to me numerous telegrams which he had addressed to the French Consul-General at Cairo, enjoining him to use his best endeavours to induce the Viceroy to return a courteous answer to the Sultan's communications.

The Prince then added that since, from what I had said, your Lordship appeared satisfied with the suggestion as communicated by M. de Contades, it only remained to find the means of obtaining the necessary declaration from the Viceroy respecting the vexed question of the permission to make foreign loans. He would write immediately, "pour sonder le terrain," and he requested me to ask your Lordship to do the same, as after the reciprocal denials on this subject it was a delicate matter. He ended our conversation by

saying that he trusted your Lordship would move ("agir") at Constantinople also, with a view to facilitating the "transaction."

I told his Excellency I would report to your Lordship what had passed between us, and he assured me of his earnest desire to act, as heretofore, in concert with Her Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) L. S. SACKVILLE WEST.

No. 241.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. West.

(No. 119.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, October 30, 1869.*

I HAVE received your despatch No. 102, marked Confidential, of the 29th October, reporting your conversation with the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne with regard to the relations between the Sultan and the Khedive, and I have to state to you that I approve of the language held by you to his Excellency.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 242.

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 31.)

(No. 265.)

My Lord, *Florence, October 27, 1869.*

IN an interview I had with Count Menabrea this morning, his Excellency spoke to me with much anxiety respecting the state of affairs between the Sultan and the Khedive of Egypt, expressing the opinion that it was in the interest of the peace of the East and of Europe that the present differences should be speedily arranged; and he thought that this end would be best attained by the great Powers coming to an understanding between themselves not to allow the *status quo* to be disturbed. By this expression I understood Count Menabrea to mean that encouragement should not be given to the Sultan to press too severely his demands upon the Khedive, while at the same time counsels of prudence should be addressed to the latter.

His Excellency acknowledged that the Khedive had put himself forward rather too much of late (alluding, I presume, to His Highness's recent journey through Europe, and his invitation to the different Sovereigns and Princes to attend the opening of the Canal), and he spoke with satisfaction of the Sultan having abandoned his intention of going to Egypt to be present at the above ceremony himself.

His Excellency alluded to the vast interests which European Governments had at stake in Egypt, and he thought that any disturbance of the existing arrangements, in reliance on which Europeans had been induced to advance money to the Khedive, might seriously compromise the security on which they had lent their capital.

In reference to this observation, I inquired of his Excellency what was his reading of the Firmans; to which he replied that in his mind there could not be a doubt that by the Firman of 1867 the Khedive had the right of administering the finances of his country independently.

The Firmans were, he continued, sufficiently vaguely worded to be capable of being interpreted in any sense, but he said the correct interpretation was to be found in what had subsequently taken place; and it certainly appeared that the Khedive had hitherto contracted loans and otherwise arranged his pecuniary interests without any reference to Constantinople.

I replied that I was under an impression that there was a misunderstanding precisely upon this point—the Turkish Government contending that the Khedive had, on a visit he paid to Constantinople, made a verbal request to be permitted to contract a loan; the Khedive, on the contrary, asserting exactly the reverse.

Count Menabrea said that he had sent instructions to the Italian Consul-General in Egypt to give the strongest counsels of prudence to the Khedive, and to dissuade him from doing anything whatever which could possibly have a tendency to embitter his relations with his Sovereign.

The accounts, his Excellency added in allusion to the recent events in Dalmatia, which he received from the Italian Consuls in that part of the world, went to show that

the same intense feelings of animosity between the Christian and Ottoman subjects of the Sultan were still rife, and it only required a spark to set perhaps the whole of the East in a blaze. He trusted, however, that if the great Powers came to an understanding and acted together, they might prevent so fatal a catastrophe arising out of the present disagreement between the Sultan and the Khedive; and his Excellency, in conclusion, expressed an anxious desire to be made acquainted with the views of Her Majesty's Government upon this question.

I told Count Menabrea I would lose no time in relating to your Lordship the substance of the observations he had just made, and that I would inform him of the nature of the reply with which your Lordship might honour me.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 243

Mr. West to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 31.)

(No. 107.)
My Lord, *Paris, October 30, 1869.*

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 112 of the 27th instant, authorizing me to state to the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne that Her Majesty's Government concur with the view taken by his Excellency respecting the Turco-Egyptian question, as communicated to your Lordship by the French Chargé d'Affaires, and will instruct Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople to co-operate with his French colleague in bringing it to the notice of the Porte. Upon my making this communication to his Excellency yesterday evening, he remarked that he was about to take the Emperor's orders as to the form in which the suggestion he had submitted to your Lordship's consideration should be brought to the notice of the Porte, and that he was unable to send any precise instructions to M. Bourrée until he had received the Emperor's answer. His despatch to M. de Contades was couched in general terms, and he was now desirous of formulating it into a distinct proposal for the maintenance of the *status quo*, as at present understood by the Governments of England and France. He wished to keep the question to the five points, which he again categorically stated, as reported in my despatch of yesterday's date; and he would not admit the right of the Porte to take it out of these limits. It was therefore necessary that when the Governments of England and France had agreed upon the mode in which the Viceroy should make his submission as regarded the question of the loans, that the Porte should accept it, if the interference of the two Powers were to be of avail; and it was for this reason that he had asked me to request your Lordship to "sonder le terrain" at Alexandria. He could not, he said, appreciate the urgency ("urgence Européenne") of the case, which, if kept within its original limits, would find its proper solution.

I told the Prince that I was sure your Lordship would greatly regret the delay in sending instructions to M. Bourrée, and that he could not but see that serious inconvenience might arise therefrom. Your Lordship, I said, would, I did not doubt, use every endeavour to induce the Viceroy to make all suitable submission to the Sultan, and at the same time counsel the latter to accept it, should it be deemed sufficient to vindicate his dignity.

As for the urgency of the case, I was well aware that the Sultan would not have recourse to strong measures while Crowned Heads and Princes were his guests; but when all this pageantry had passed away, if the Sultan should withdraw the Firmans, the complications which he deprecated would inevitably arise; and then, I said, how does your Excellency propose to deal with them?

The Prince replied that he had not sent instructions to Constantinople by his courier this evening, as he had already informed me, because he was awaiting the Emperor's final orders, which he hoped to receive to-morrow (this day). He did not think, considering the intimate relations between the two Ambassadors at the Porte, that any inconvenience would result from one being in receipt of instructions before the other, especially as he hoped there was now a complete understanding as to the course to be pursued.

If, said his Excellency, complications after all arise, the Porte must take the consequences. The great Powers will have done all in their power to prevent them. He again assured me that the delay I complained of was only caused by the necessity he was under of again referring the matter to the Emperor.

I have, &c.
(Signed) L. S. SACKVILLE WEST.

No. 244.

Lord Bloomfield to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 1.)

(No. 436.)
My Lord, *Vienna, October 28, 1869.*

AT an interview which I had with Count Beust two days before his departure for the East, I endeavoured to learn from his Excellency whether he saw a better prospect than appeared to exist when I last met him, as to an arrangement of the misunderstanding between the Sultan and the Khedive. He said that his last accounts left the question in the same unsatisfactory condition as before, and he could tell me nothing new on the subject, and had only to express his regret that the relations of Turkey and Egypt were in no better condition.

Count Beust added that it was yet uncertain whether the Sultan would or would not go to the opening of the Suez Canal. He seemed inclined to think he would not assist at this ceremony, and to be of opinion that if he did go, his presence would not be likely to smooth the difficulties between the two countries.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

No. 245.

Mr. West to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 1.)

(Telegraphic.) *Paris, November 1, 1869, 1·20 P.M.*

PRINCE LA TOUR D'AUVERGNE has informed me that a despatch was sent yesterday to London and Alexandria on the Turco-Egyptian question.

No. 246.

Mr. West to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 1, 5·10 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Paris, November 1, 1869, 3·20 P.M.*

WITH reference to my telegram of 1·20 P.M. to-day, cancel the words "and Alexandria."

No. 247.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. West.

(No. 121.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, November 2, 1869.*

I HAVE received your despatch No. 107 of the 30th ultimo, and I approve of the language which you have held to the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, as therein reported, in regard to the delay which has occurred in furnishing M. Bourrée with instructions in regard to the present phase of the question between the Porte and the Khedive.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 248.

Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne to Viscount de Contades.—(Communicated to the Earl of Clarendon by Viscount de Contades, November 3.)

M. le Vicomte, *Paris, le 30 Octobre, 1869.*

VOTRE dépêche du 28, relative à la contestation pendante entre la Porte et le Vice-Roi, m'apprend que le Cabinet de Londres partage notre avis sur l'opportunité d'une nouvelle tentative de conciliation. M. le Ministre d'Angleterre s'est exprimé avec moi dans

le même sens, et m'a dit que le Gouvernement de la Reine adhérait à la suggestion que vous avez été chargé de présenter au Principal Secrétaire d' Etat. Désirant vivement accomplir cette démarche dans toutes les conditions de succès, je crois nécessaire, après votre entretien avec Lord Clarendon, de bien déterminer la situation et d'arrêter d'un commun accord la marche qu'il convient de suivre. Quelle que doive être l'issue de nos efforts, nous éviterons du moins ainsi tout sujet de malentendu.

Dans la communication pas laquelle Musurus Pacha a fait connaître au Comte de Clarendon les dispositions du Gouvernement Ottoman, deux choses nous ont frappés. D'abord, une propension marquée à déplacer le débat, et à remettre en question des points que nous considérons comme acquis; en second lieu, un sentiment d'irritation et d'impatience qui devient, en réalité, la difficulté principale pour l'action conciliatrice des Puissances.

A la suite de la lettre Vizirielle dans laquelle ont été spécifiés les demandes de la Porte, le Vice-Roi s'est prononcé vis-à-vis des Agents étrangers sur ce qui regarde les achats d'armes et de bâtiments cuirassés, aussi bien que sur la position éventuelle de ses Envoyés au dehors. Les Ambassadeurs à Constantinople ont, de leur côté, fait part au Grand Vizier de leurs observations sur les prétensions du Gouvernement Ottoman touchant le budget et les emprunts. Il est résulté de ces explications que sur quatre points le désaccord n'existait plus. Le Vice-Roi cédait sur les trois premiers, la Porte cessait d'insister sur le quatrième, et la question se trouvait ramené à la seule affaire des emprunts.

Je reviens ici sur un ordre de considérations que je vous ai déjà développé, mais que nous ne saurions trop préciser; car il importe, avant tout, de simplifier le débat, et de bien établir que les quatre premiers points ne sauraient être remis en cause.

Je ne crains pas de me repéter également, en rappelant que la question des emprunts, qui paraît préoccuper à un si haut point, aujourd'hui, la Porte, ne réclame nullement une solution immédiate, et que le délai dans lequel elle voit matière à un ultimatum est sans aucun inconvénient pour les droits ou pour les intérêts de la Turquie, puisque le Vice-Roi, en vertu d'engagements pris envers ses créanciers en 1868, ne peut conclure aucune nouvelle opération financière à l'étranger avant un période de quatre ans. En un mot, la gravité de l'affaire des emprunts vient uniquement de la précipitation que le Gouvernement Ottoman apporte à la régler, et du prétexte qu'il en tire pour prendre, à l'egard du Vice-Roi, une attitude comminatoire.

Le premier soin des Puissances, au moment où elles se proposent de faire de nouvelles démarches en Égypte, doit être, selon nous, de suspendre l'effet de ces menaces. Pour persuader Ismail Pacha nous avons besoin de le rassurer d'abord sur les intentions de la Porte.

Nous ne saurions nous dissimuler, en effet, qu'en essayant d'obtenir son acquiescement à notre suggestion, nous devons toucher à un ordre d'idées d'une nature très délicate.

Quand le Gouvernement Turc a, pour la première fois, avancé que l'autorisation du Sultan avait été demandée pour l'emprunt de 1868 comme pour les précédents, le Vice-Roi a immédiatement contesté le fait lui-même, et lorsque l'on a répliqué en déclarant qu'il s'agissait d'une autorisation sollicitée et accordée verbalement, Ismail Pacha s'est retranché derrière cette considération, que le contrat avait été signé avant son départ pour Constantinople. Nous reconnaissons avec Lord Clarendon toute la portée de la déclaration émanée du Sultan, et ainsi que j'ai déjà eu l'honneur de vous l'écrire, l'explication que donne le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat de la confusion créée par ces deux allégations divergentes me paraît, en outre, très plausible. Il n'en est pas moins nécessaire, évidemment, de procéder avec les plus grands menagements pour amener le Vice-Roi à souscrire à la combinaison dont il s'agit; car, tout en substituant à une obligation officielle un devoir purement officieux, elle impliquera de sa part un acte de déférence rendu plus difficile pour lui par sa première affirmation. Nous pouvons, je l'espère du moins, désintéresser sa dignité en faisant valoir auprès de lui le gré que lui sauront les Gouvernements de contribuer par sa modération au maintien de la tranquillité en Orient, et de mettre ainsi un terme aux préoccupations causées par son différend avec la Porte. Mais, si nous voulons que ces conseils soient écoutés, il nous faut d'abord, telle est notre conviction, obtenir des Ministres du Sultan de ne pas contrarier nos démarches par le langage menaçant qu'ils tiennent depuis quelque temps et qui est connu du Khedive.

J'ai informé M. Bourrée par le courrier d'hier de notre intention de faire, en commun avec l'Angleterre, ce nouvel effort, et j'ai indiqué, en termes généraux, à l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté à Constantinople, la nature de la transaction que nous sommes prêts à recommander aux deux parties.

Toutefois, avant d'autoriser notre Agent en Égypte à faire connaître cette combinaison au Vice-Roi, j'ai cru devoir vous exposer les conditions auxquelles il nous paraît possible de mener à bonne fin notre œuvre de conciliation, et nous attachons le plus grand prix à

nous mettre, au préalable, complètement d'accord à cét égard avec le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique.

Recevez, &c.
(Signé) PCE. DE LA TOUR D'AUVERGNE.

No. 249.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. West.

(No. 135.) *Foreign Office, November* 3, 1869.

Sir,

THE French Chargé d'Affaires communicated to me to-day a further despatch from Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, dated 30th October, respecting the questions pending between the Porte and the Viceroy.

In this despatch, as in the one of the 26th of October, referred to in my despatch No. 112 of the following day, Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne states that of the five original points of difference, viz., iron-clads, rifles, relations between the Viceroy's Agents and the Sultan's Representatives in foreign countries, budget, and loans, the first four are already disposed of, and the only one remaining to be dealt with is that of the right of the Viceroy under the Firman of 1867 to contract loans without the sanction of the Porte.

Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne repeats that this still unsettled point is not one that presses for immediate settlement, and that its settlement may be deferred without prejudice to the rights and interests of Turkey, inasmuch as the Viceroy has precluded himself by the terms of the contract for the loan of 1868 from contracting a fresh loan for four years.

The first step, therefore, to be taken is to induce the Porte to withdraw its menace of revoking the Firman of 1867, was to admit of the two Powers exerting their influence with the Viceroy to obtain his acquiescence in the principle that the *status quo* resulting from what passed in regard to the loan of 1868 would impose upon the Viceroy the obligation, if not to abstain from contracting a new loan without the previous consent of the Porte, at all events to submit any such loan, when contracted, for the approval of the Porte. To induce the Viceroy to assent to this principle, Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne says dexterous management will be requisite, inasmuch as while substituting for an official obligation a duty purely informal, it would involve on the part of the Viceroy an act of deference towards the Sultan inconsistent with the assertion made by His Highness in the first instance (meaning thereby, it may be presumed, the Viceroy's declaration that he had not asked the Sultan's sanction for the loan of 1868).

The inducement to be held out to the Viceroy is the favour with which his acquiescence would be viewed by the Governments of England and France; but in order that this result should be obtained, it is requisite that the Sultan's Ministers should on their part be induced to refrain from the tone of menace lately adopted towards the Viceroy.

Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne says he has apprized M. Bourrée of his intention, in concert with the British Government, to make this attempt, and in doing so he has stated to him in general terms the nature of the compromise to be proposed to both parties. But before sending similar instructions to the French Representative in Egypt, the Prince desires to be assured of the assent of the British Government to the course which he proposed to adopt for reconciling existing differences.

I told M. de Contades that the threatening language of the Porte had been caused by the contemptuous silence with which the communication of Aali Pasha had been treated by the Khedive, and justified by Nubar Pasha as the means of bringing the Porte to reason; that it would manifestly be difficult to obtain an altered tone on the part of the Sovereign towards his subjects so long as the latter persevered in his present line of conduct, and refused to make the concession of agreeing to the *status quo*, which the French Government admitted was that of obligation, in some form or other, to ask permission of the Sultan to contract a foreign loan.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 250.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 5.)

(No. 454.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, October 19, 1869.*

INFORMATION has reached the Porte of fifty-seven cases of breech-loading rifles having arrived at Brindisi, and been forwarded to Alexandria to Messrs. Cocu and Co., the Viceroy's agents there. These rifles were to be followed by a larger number manufactured at Brescia.

I have asked the Grand Vizier whether he was satisfied of the correctness of his information, and he says he has no reason to doubt it. He is still convinced that the arms ordered by the Viceroy were not limited to those from America, and were considerably above 200,000 in number.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 251.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 5.)

(No. 462 B.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, October 22, 1869.*

HAVING learnt that Aali Pasha had informed the French Ambassador that it was impossible for the Sultan to submit any longer to the contemptuous persistence of the Viceroy in neglecting to answer or notice the letter that had been addressed to him by his orders, and that it would be necessary to suspend the Firman of 1867, I called upon his Highness to ascertain his intentions, and again to recommend the utmost caution before adopting a policy likely to be resented by the French Government.

Aali Pasha stated himself to be in a position of the utmost embarrassment: on the one side the necessity of supporting the Sultan's authority, and of preventing His Majesty from being set at defiance by the Viceroy, seemed to call for the immediate issue of a Firman; but on the other side the desire of doing nothing that might be regarded as discourteous to the Empress of the French, or to the other Royal personages about to visit Egypt, made him unwilling to resort to an extreme measure during their presence, and this consideration he said had prevailed, and nothing would be done till after the conclusion of the ceremonies connected with the opening of the Suez Canal.

I said it gave me great pleasure to hear that he had come to this prudent resolution, and that the time which would thus be gained might perhaps still be turned to account in coming to an understanding.

In any case, I thought it would be advisable to avoid the accusation of adopting a harsh measure, and to abstain from the suspension of the Firman of 1867, if, without its revocation, the authority and rights of the Sultan could be sufficiently established by the issue of a new one.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 252.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 5.)

(No. 471. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, October 26, 1869.*

AALI PASHA is strongly of opinion that the Sultan should himself go to Egypt for the opening of the Suez Canal, and this feeling is shared by all the Turkish Ministers and, I believe, by the public in general.

When I saw his Highness on Friday I asked him if anything had been decided about it, and he then told me that he had not yet made the suggestion to His Majesty.

I have since learnt that he has done so, and that the Sultan showed no great inclination to take the step.

His Majesty did not, however, say that he would not; and it may still be regarded as not improbable that His Majesty may consent to announce to the Emperor of Austria his intention of receiving him in Egypt.

His presence there seems well calculated to put the relations between himself and the

Viceroy upon their real footing; but, in expressing this opinion to Aali Pasha, I added the hope that His Majesty would take the opportunity of confirming all the privileges he had hitherto granted to the Khedive, and of showing that, although he would not allow his legitimate authority to be ignored, he had no intention of interfering in the internal administration of the country.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 253.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Elliot.

(No. 363.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, November 5, 1869.*

I HAVE received, this morning, your despatches Nos. 454, 462 B, 470, 471, and 472, the last of the 27th of October; and I have to acquaint you that I approve the language which you held to Aali Pasha as reported in Nos. 462 B and 471, respecting the differences between the Porte and the Viceroy, and the voyage of the Sultan to Egypt in order to be present at the opening of the Suez Canal, which appears to be still contemplated.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 254.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Elliot.

(No. 364.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, November 5, 1869.*

HER Majesty's Government much regret that the question at issue between the Sultan and Viceroy has not yet received a solution. I say "question" advisedly, because, as I understand, both parties are sufficiently agreed on all minor points that they may be considered as removed from the field of discussion, so that the Sultan and Viceroy are now only at variance upon the Loan question, in regard to which the Sultan maintains that the Firman of 1867 does not confer on the Viceroy a right to contract loans without his sanction, and alleges in corroboration of this view that the Viceroy asked and obtained the consent of the Sultan for the loan of 1868; while the Viceroy maintains that the Firman does confer upon him the power to contract loans, and asserts that he neither asked for nor obtained the Sultan's consent to contract the loan of 1868.

A direct solution of this difference is threatened on the part of the Sultan, who proposes to suspend the Firman of 1867, which, however, confers privileges on the Viceroy beyond those of a pecuniary nature, whatever may be the extent of the latter.

Her Majesty's Government cannot too strongly advise the Sultan to abstain from any such measure.

After all that has passed on this question between friendly Powers and the Porte, in the hope of reconciling a difference which they could not but think has been needlessly encouraged and persevered in by the parties more immediately concerned, so peremptory a measure on the part of the Sultan would go beyond its immediate and avowed object of coercing the Viceroy, and place the Sultan more or less in antagonism with foreign Powers, in whose minds the uncertain terms employed in the Firman of 1867 have tended to create a doubt as to its real meaning, whatever might have been the intention of the Sultan when he issued it, or the construction placed on it by the Viceroy when it was first issued.

The Porte may also find an additional reason for renouncing the idea of immediately revoking the Firman of 1867, in the fact that whatever construction may be placed on its terms in regard to the right of the Viceroy to contract loans without the permission of the Sultan, the Viceroy is precluded by the terms of the contract of loan of 1868 from exercising his assumed privilege for four years to come. The Porte may therefore very well adjourn the discussion of what is now for a time, to all intents and purposes, an abstract question.

It is, indeed, still less necessary to discuss the question at the present time, inasmuch as by accepting the *status quo* as the rule to be observed by the Viceroy in regard to the contract of foreign loans, the point for which the Porte contends is essentially secured; for, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government and that of the Emperor of the French,

the *status quo*, as established by what took place in regard to the loan of 1868, requires that the consent of the Porte should in some becoming form be obtained for any loan contracted by the Viceroy.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 255.

Mr. Hammond to Mr. Elliot.

My dear Elliot, *Foreign Office, November* 5, 1869.

LORD CLARENDON desires me to say to you that in case the Sultan should not be in Egypt when these despatches reach you, you are to send up No. 364 at once to Constantinople with directions to act upon it.

Ever yours,
(Signed) E. HAMMOND.

No. 256.

Mr. West to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 5.)

(No. 125. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Paris, November* 4, 1869.

PRINCE de la Tour d'Auvergne has just read to me confidentially a despatch which he has addressed to M. Tricon, the French Agent and Consul-General at Alexandria, which his Excellency said would be sent off to-morrow evening.

In this despatch the Prince informs M. Tricon that the suggestion which his Excellency put forward respecting the interpretation of the *status quo* between the Sultan and the Khedive had been adopted by Her Majesty's Government, and he then proceeds to state its exact nature, and the manner in which it would be expedient to put it to the Viceroy. The French Government, says his Excellency, do not wish that the pending differences between the Porte and the Khedive should assume an importance which might give rise to serious complications, and is very desirous that an end should be put to them.

The word of the Sultan ought not any longer to be called in question, and the Khedive ought to be satisfied to be allowed to do as he has done, and as the Sultan says he has done, in the matter of asking his permission to make foreign loans. M. Tricon is instructed to press this upon the Viceroy ("insister énergiquement") and to represent to him the danger of a refusal which would inevitably cause the Sultan to have recourse to violent measures, the consequences of which would perhaps be disastrous to him and which the great Powers could not in such case prevent.

The Prince asked me if I was satisfied. I told his Excellency I was sure your Lordship would learn with satisfaction the tenour of this communication, which I should lose no time in reporting to your Lordship.

He further added that he had received a despatch from M. Tricon, in which he (M. Tricon) states that he had hopes of at last inducing the Viceroy to return a courteous answer to the Sultan's several communications.

I have, &c.
(Signed) L. S. SACKVILLE WEST.

No. 257.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. West.

(No. 136. Confidential.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, November* 5, 1869.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 135 of the 3rd instant, I have to state to you that it appears to Her Majesty's Government that any difficulty which the Sultan might still entertain in regard to the acceptance of the *status quo* as applied to the contracting of foreign loans by the Viceroy, interpreted as it is by the Governments of England and France, might be removed if the Sultan, by some formal Imperial Act, were to announce

that he will, at such period as he may choose, define further the manner in which he will require the Khedive to approach him in order to obtain authority to contract a foreign loan.

Such a declaration would suffice as a reserve of the Sultan's rights; and would not be likely to involve him in difficulties such as might result from a revocation of the Firmans of 1867.

You will mention this matter to Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, and ascertain his opinion.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 258.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. West.

(No. 137.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, November* 5, 1869.

I HAVE received your despatch No. 125 of the 4th instant, as to the instructions to be sent to the French Consul-General in Egypt respecting the interpretation given by the British and French Governments to the *status quo* between the Sultan and the Khedive in regard to the control by the latter of foreign loans; and I have to acquaint you that Her Majesty's Government learn with satisfaction the nature of those instructions.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 259.

Colonel Stanton to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 7.)

(No. 91. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Cairo, October* 28, 1869.

A FEW days since Nubar Pasha informed me that M. Tricon, Acting Agent and Consul-General of France, had communicated to His Highness the Khedive the substance of a telegram he had received from Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne to the effect that Musurus Pasha had declared to your Lordship that unless the dispute between the Porte and His Highness was settled before the opening of the Suez Canal, the Porte would suspend the Firman of 1867, on which the Khedive based the right of contracting foreign loans. I then assured his Excellency I had no knowledge of any such declaration having been made to your Lordship, and, consequently, was unable to state how far M. Tricon's communication might be justified by the facts of the case, and I added that I did not believe Her Majesty's Government would consider the Porte justified in taking such an extreme measure. Nubar Pasha has since addressed me a letter on this subject which, though dated the 20th instant, only reached me on the 22nd, after the departure of the mail from Cairo, and I have the honour to forward herewith to your Lordship a copy of this letter.

Nubar Pasha enters fully into the questions at issue between the Porte and this country, and endeavours to prove that the real object of the Grand Vizier is to force the Viceroy to compromise himself and to reduce Egypt to the condition of a simple Province of the Empire. His Excellency gives the assurance that the Khedive will take no steps that might justify the violence with which he is threatened; but adds that should the Porte carry out the declaration made by Musurus Pasha, and suspend the Firman of 1867, His Highness would, much to his regret, be forced to respond to this measure by an equivalent one.

His Excellency further declares he is desired by His Highness to express the hope that through the advice of Her Majesty's Government the Porte may be prevented from taking a violent decision, which would undoubtedly give rise to grave complications.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. STANTON.

Inclosure in No. 259.

Nubar Pasha to Colonel Stanton.

Mon cher Colonel, *Caire, le 20 Octobre*, 1869.

LA veille de mon départ d'Alexandrie je vous avais entretenu d'un télégramme du Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne que M. Tricon avait communiqué à Son Altesse. D'après ce que me dit Son Altesse ce télégramme porte en substance que Musurus Pacha a déclaré à votre Gouvernement qui si le différend entre la Porte et le Khédive n'était point terminé d'ici à l'époque fixée pour l'ouverture du Canal de Suez, la Porte, considérant que Son Altesse n'a pas répondu à sa dernière dépêche et que le Khédive fonde son droit de contracter des emprunts sur le Firman de 1867, prononcera la suspension de ce Firman, à moins que le Vice-Roi ne prenne dans un délai de quelques jours qui sera déterminé, l'engagement d'observer toutes les conditions spécifiées dans les demandes de la Porte. Ce télégramme ajoute que Sa Majesté le Sultan est tout disposé à renouveler le Firman aussitôt que le Vice-Roi aura adhéré à ces demandes, et qu'il sera allé à Constantinople présenter ses hommages à Sa Majesté.

Voilà en substance la communication de Musurus Pacha à Lord Clarendon.

L'impression produite sur Son Altesse a été des plus pénibles. Le Vice-Roi est accusé de ne pas répondre, et c'est le silence qu'il garde qui motive ou plutôt sert de prétexte à la détermination violente à laquelle la Porte semble vouloir s'arrêter. Mais le Vice-Roi a répondu à la première lettre Vizirielle. Sa réponse a été publiée et tout le monde a pu s'assurer de la déférence respectueuse dont il a fait preuve; non seulement dans cette lettre, mais par un télégramme *ad hoc* adressé à son Chargé d'Affaires, il a manifesté de son désir d'aller présenter ses hommages au Sultan. Vous connaissez la réponse de la Porte; on l'accuse d'être sorti des limites du Firman, on lui pose des conditions, on lui demande des garanties, on formule cinq points auxquels on l'invite à se conformer.

Vous connaissez encore la seconde réponse du Vice-Roi. Le Khédive, sur les deux premiers points des fusils et des bâtiments cuirassés, avait obtenu l'autorisation verbale du Sultan; c'était avec son approbation qu'il les avait commandés. Il aurait pu se prévaloir de cette approbation; il n'a pas voulu s'en servir, il n'a pas voulu, par respect, faire intervenir le nom de Sa Majesté dans les difficultés que lui suscitait la Porte; il a fait savoir à la Porte qu'il disposerait des bâtiments conformément au désir de Sa Majesté. Sur les trois autres points la réponse du Vice-Roi, quoique négative, a été pleine de déférence et de respect; il a exprimé l'espoir que la Porte ne voudrait pas enlever à l'Égypte des privilèges que Sa Majesté le Sultan avait bien voulu lui octroyer. Contre son attente la Porte a continué à insister. Que pouvait faire le Vice-Roi? Pouvait-il, et peut-il abandonner des privilèges qui constituent un état de choses où tant d'intérêts sont engagés? Il ne le pouvait pas.

Il ne pouvait donc répondre que par un refus, irriter la Porte, envenimer le débat.

Il a cru, et il croit encore, que le parti le plus sage était de laisser au temps le soin de calmer l'irritation et d'amener une entente qu'il appelle de tous ses vœux, et il a eu raison, puisque sur les trois points restants celui des Agents est déjà réglé, et que la question du Budget, d'après les informations qui sont communiquées à Son Altesse, peut être considérée comme résolue, Aali Pacha lui-même s'étant exprimé dans le sens de l'abandon de cette demande. Il ne reste donc que la question des emprunts. Or, mon cher Colonel, vous savez très bien, et la Porte le sait tout autant que les autres, que Son Altesse d'ici quatre ans est engagé par son dernier contrat à ne faire aucun emprunt; de sorte que quand bien même le Firman de 1867 ne lui donnerait pas le droit que la Porte lui dénie, il ne pourrait contracter d'emprunt; il est donc matériellement empêché de porter atteinte au Firman, même, je le répète, en interprétant ce Firman dans le sens de la Porte. Sur ce point il ne peut y avoir exécution de sa part, et c'est précisément ce point que la Porte choisit pour déclarer qu'elle a l'intention de suspendre le Firman, c'est-à-dire, de prendre une mesure de la plus haute gravité. N'est-ce pas laisser croire à des intentions autres que celles qu'on manifeste? Le Firman de 1867 a été octroyé à l'Égypte à la suite de services rendus, et parce que les stipulations qu'il contient répondaient à des nécessités évidentes de l'administration du pays. Comment peut-on le suspendre? La suspension de ce Firman amenerait nécessairement celle des Firmans de 1866, accordés conjointement à l'augmentation du tribut et pour donner au pays une stabilité que l'état ancien ne présentait pas. Il n'y aurait pas de raison non plus pour que la Porte ne prétendît à suspendre le Firman de 1841 et à détruire l'œuvre des Puissances elles-mêmes. Voilà la voie dans laquelle la Porte s'engage. Quant au Vice-Roi soyez assuré, mon cher Colonel, qu'il ne fera rien qui puisse motiver les violences dont la Porte le menace; il a un respect profond et une trop sincère

reconnaissance pour Sa Majesté le Sultan, qui l'a comblé de faveurs, pour consentir à suivre la Porte dans la voie où elle veut l'engager. Son Altesse comprend très bien qu'Aali Pacha veut le pousser à bout, il veut amener forcément le Vice-Roi à se compromettre.

Son Altesse s'en gardera bien, tant que la Porte restera dans les limites des menaces et des provocations; mais si jamais elle venait à donner suite à la communication de Musurus Pacha, si elle suspendait le Firman de 1867, Son Altesse, bien à regret, serait amenée à répondre à cette mesure par une mesure équivalente. C'est pour éviter d'en venir à cette extrémité qu'elle m'a chargé de vous exprimer l'espoir que les conseils du Gouvernement Anglais pourraient empêcher une décision violente de la Porte de se produire et éviter ainsi de graves complications.

Puisqu'il ne reste que la question des emprunts, pourquoi n'examinerait-on pas cette question au point de vue du Firman? Cet examen fait froidement résoudrait la question.

En tous cas, mon cher Colonel, Son Altesse me charge de vous dire qu'il fera tout pour ne pas donner de motifs à la Porte, et pour ne pas se laisser entraîner sur la pente où la Porte veut l'entraîner. Si contre son effort et son espoir il ne peut y parvenir, il en rejettera la responsabilité sur ceux qui, dans le but de réduire l'Égypte à l'état d'une simple province, veulent détruire l'œuvre établi par les Puissances en 1841 et amener de graves complications.

Voilà, mon cher Colonel, où en est la question; analysez-la bien, vous n'y trouverez rien au fond: quatre points sur cinq résolus et le cinquième point lui-même ne présentant rien de sérieux ni d'urgent, puisque, je le répète, le Vice-Roi ne peut contracter d'emprunt d'ici quatre ans. Je comprendrais, mon cher Colonel, que la Porte protesta si le Vice-Roi tranchait la question conformément à ses droits, et contractait un emprunt. Mais il ne le fait pas, et ne peut le faire d'ici quatre ans; les menaces de la Porte n'ont donc point de raison d'être.

Le Vice-Roi n'en fera pas moins tous ses efforts pour convaincre Sa Majesté de ses sentiments de respect et de soumission envers sa personne. De son côté il demeure persuadé que Sa Majesté désire sincèrement ne point amoindrir les privilèges accordés à l'Égypte.

Pour me résumer, mon cher Colonel, l'impossibilité dans laquelle le Vice-Roi se trouve actuellement de sortir du Firman de 1867, en supposant à ce Firman, par impossible, une interprétation conforme à celle que la Porte veut lui donner, le peu d'urgence d'une question dont la solution peut être différée sans inconvénients pendant quatre ans, sont, je pense, des raisons qui devraient servir de terrain pour un rapprochement, car je suis persuadé que dans ce laps de temps les deux parties trouveraient moyen de tout concilier, ce que précisément désirent les Puissances.

Il me semble donc que si la Porte est sincère, ces raisons doivent avoir du poids auprès d'elle et amener le Vice-Roi lui-même, en lui donnant de la confiance, à se rendre à Constantinople pour y présenter ses hommages au Sultan. Si on ne prend pas ces raisons en considération, si on s'en tient aux mesures dont on nous menace, c'est qu'on ne veut pas qu'il y ait entente et conciliation; c'est que tout ce qui se fait actuellement est fait à dessein et en vue d'amener des complications que certains personnages à Constantinople désirent ardemment.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) N. NUBAR.

No. 260.

Colonel Stanton to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 7.)

(No. 94.)
My Lord, *Cairo, October 27*, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith, for your Lordship's information, copies of despatches dated the 24th instant, with their inclosures, which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. STANTON

Inclosure 1 in No. 260.

Colonel Stanton to Mr. Elliot.

Sir, *Cairo, October* 24, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to report that, on the receipt of your Excellency's despatch of the 6th instant, I mentioned to Nubar Pasha that the statement made to me by the Khedive on the subject of the arms to be supplied to His Highness was greatly at variance with the information received by the Porte. I informed his Excellency that the Porte had certified copies of different contracts of arms to be furnished to His Highness, amounting in all to above 200,000 stand, and I begged him to give me some explanation that would enable me to account for the discrepancy.

His Excellency assured me he was satisfied that 60,000 stand of arms was the number actually contracted for, but added that he would mention my request to His Highness, and send me an answer; and I have the honour to forward herewith to your Excellency a copy of a letter I received from his Excellency on the 22nd instant on this subject.

From this letter your Excellency will perceive that the Khedive persists in his declaration that he had only ordered 100,000 stand of arms, of which 40,000 have been countermanded, and His Highness suggests that the Grand Vizier should produce the documents in question, in order that the truth may be ascertained, and His Highness convinced of the false accusations made against the Khedive.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. STANTON.

Inclosure 2 in No. 260.

Nubar Pasha to Colonel Stanton.

Mon cher Colonel, *Le Caire, le* 19 *Octobre*, 1869.

J'AI rapporté à Son Altesse ce que vous m'avez dit au sujet du nombre de fusils que l'on prétend que Son Altesse a commandés. Malgré la déclaration catégorique du Khedive son Altesse le Grand Vizier dit avoir entre les mains des documents qui prouvent que Son Altesse a commandé plus de 200,000 fusils. Son Altesse n'en avait commandé, comme elle l'a déclaré à plusieurs reprises, que 100,000, dont 40,000 ont été contremandés.

Son Altesse le Grand Vizier est induit en erreur par des personnes intéressées sans doute à lui donner des renseignements inexacts. Il serait à désirer que son Altesse le Grand Vizier produisît ces documents pour qu'on put enfin connaître la vérité. Son Altesse serait heureuse si le Grand Vizier prenait cette décision pour qu'il soit convaincu lui-même des fausses accusations portées contre le Khedive.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) N. NUBAR.

Inclosure 3 in No. 260.

Colonel Stanton to Mr. Elliot.

Sir, *Cairo, October* 24, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith to your Excellency a copy of a letter I have just received from Nubar Pasha, in reply to one I had addressed to him on the receipt of your Excellency's despatch of the 2nd instant, on the subject of the demands made by the Porte with reference to the Agents whom the Viceroy might send to negotiate with foreign Governments.

In order to prevent any further misunderstanding as to the extent of these demands, I gave Nubar Pasha a copy of your Excellency's despatch, and requested him to communicate it to the Khedive, expressing at the same time the hope that His Highness would consider it a satisfactory solution of the question.

His Highness, as your Excellency will perceive from Nubar Pasha's letter, in order to show his desire of conciliation and his deference for the advice of Her Majesty's Government, expresses himself as satisfied with these explanations, and accepts the solution of the question as contained in the Grand Vizier's assurance to your Excellency.

His Highness also requests me to convey his thanks to your Excellency for having obtained this explanation of the demand made by the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. STANTON.

Inclosure 4 in No. 260.

Nubar Pasha to Colonel Stanton.

M. l'Agent et Consul-Général, *Le Caire, le* 19 *Octobre*, 1869.

J'AI eu l'honneur de recevoir et de communiquer à Son Altesse, avec le contenu de votre lettre, la copie de la dépêche que son Excellence M. l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté à Constantinople vous a écrite en date du 2 Octobre.

Son Excellence vous fait savoir que d'après les assurances du Grand Vizier, la Porte n'a jamais eu l'intention de soumettre à la sanction préalable de ses Ambassadeurs à l'étranger les négociations que Son Altesse pouvait entamer avec les Puissances en vue d'arrangements spéciaux portant sur des objets spécifiés dans le Firman de 1867. La Porte n'a jamais non plus prétendu que les Agents que Son Altesse pourrait envoyer dans ce but dussent tenir l'Ambassadeur au courant de leurs démarches et des détails de la négociation. Elle demande simplement que ces Agents soient présentés au Ministre par l'Ambassadeur, et cette formalité accomplie l'Agent de Son Altesse n'aurait à rendre compte des démarches faites en vue de sa mission qu'au Gouvernement Egyptien, en dehors d toute ingérence de l'Ambassade.

Son Altesse me charge, M. l'Agent et Consul-Général, de vous remercier de cette communication. Elle vous prie de vouloir bien aussi transmettre ses remerciements à son Excellence pour les explications qu'elle a bien voulu provoquer auprès de la Porte.

Quoique les Agents de Son Altesse se soient toujours présentés eux-mêmes au Ministre avec lequel ils avaient à négocier, Son Altesse, pour témoigner encore une fois de son désir de conciliation et de sa déférence pour les avis du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté, se trouve satisfaite des explications que vous avez bien voulu lui transmettre et accepte cette solution, qui résout un des points mis en avant par la Porte.

Je vous prie, &c.
(Signé) N. NUBAR.

No. 261.

Colonel Stanton to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 7.)

(No. 97.) *Cairo, October* 27, 1869.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my telegram of the 23rd instant, reporting the positive assertion of the Viceroy, that he had neither made explanation to the Sultan, nor demanded His Majesty's sanction for the loan of 1868, I have now the honour to forward to your Lordship, a copy of a note I received on this subject from Nubar Pasha in reply to the inquiries I addressed him on receipt of your Lordship's telegram of the 14th instant.

Your Lordship will perceive from this note that the Viceroy's declaration is most categoric as, His Highness states that on his arrival at Constantinople he neither gave, nor considered it necessary to give, any explanations on the subject, believing at the time, as he still believes, that the contract for this loan was an act of financial administration within the limits of his rights. His Highness further declares, that no explanations were demanded on his arrival at Constantinople either by the Grand Vizier or by any one else, and that he himself neither gave explanations nor demanded authorization or verbal sanction.

His Highness expresses his extreme regret, that the Grand Vizier should have introduced the name of the Sultan into this matter, and believes it was done with the intention of placing him in a most painful situation with regard to his Sovereign.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. STANTON.

Inclosure in No. 261.

Nubar Pasha to Colonel Stanton.

Mon cher Colonel, *Le Caire, le* 18 *Octobre*, 1869.

J'AI entretenu Son Altesse du billet que vous m'avez écrit, et du télégramme qui vous charge de vous assurer si en effet Son Altesse, à son arrivée à Constantinople, avait expliqué au Sultan les raisons qui avaient nécessité l'emprunt de 1868, et demandé et obtenu à la suite des explications la sanction verbale de Sa Majesté le Sultan.

Son Altesse m'a répondu de la manière la plus catégorique n'avoir ni donné d'explications, ni demandé verbalement aucune autorisation à ce sujet. Mais tout d'abord elle regrette vivement que le Grand Vizir fasse intervenir dans cette affaire le nom de Sa Majesté le Sultan.

Aali Pacha veut placer Son Altesse dans une pénible situation vis-à-vis du Souverain, et Son Altesse se plaint vivement de cette manière de faire. Vous savez très bien qu'avant le contrat d'emprunt de la maison Oppenheim il y avait eu le contrat Ishvald et le contrat Carteret, tous deux publiés. Si ces deux emprunts n'ont pas abouti la raison en est dans l'impuissance seule des contractants à les exécuter. Mais il n'en est pas moins vrai que ce sont deux contrats d'emprunt que le Gouvernement Egyptien a signés, que tout le monde a connus, et qui n'ont amené aucune observation de la part de la Porte. Quant au contrat Oppenheim signé dans les mêmes conditions, Son Altesse à son arrivée à Constantinople n'a pas donné, et n'a pas cru devoir observer la moindre explication, parcequ'elle pensait, comme elle pense encore, avoir fait un acte d'administration financière tout naturel et dans les limites de ses droits. Ni le Grand Vizir, ni personne, à son arrivée à Constantinople ne lui a demandé d'explications, et lui n'a fourni aucune explication ni demandé aucune autorisation ou sanction verbale.

Voilà, mon cher Colonel, ce que Son Altesse m'a dit de vous écrire. Ce qu'elle regrette le plus c'est que l'on fasse intervenir dans ces questions, et sans doute à dessein, le nom auguste de Sa Majesté.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) N. NUBAR.

No. 262.

Colonel Stanton to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 7.)

(No. 98.)
My Lord, *Cairo, October* 29, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that Nubar Pasha informed me on the 26th instant that the Khedive was now prepared to send an answer to the Grand Vizier's letter, as he considered the communication I had made to the Egyptian Government of the views of the Porte with reference to the question of the Egyptian Agents abroad, as explained by Aali Pasha to Her Majesty's Ambassador, offered a favourable opportunity for sending a suitable reply.

The letter has not yet been dispatched, but His Highness will, I believe, remark that the question of the Egyptian Agents abroad is disposed of by his acceptance of the Grand Vizier's proposal as explained to Mr. Elliott, and that the demand made by the Porte on the subject of the Egyptian Budget having been nearly waived, the question of foreign loans was now the only point remaining unsettled.

His Highness will, I am assured, offer conciliatory explanations on this subject, though he is not prepared to abandon what he considers his rights under the Firman of 1867.

I communicated the substance of this information by telegraph to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, adding at the same time the hope expressed by the Khedive, that his Excellency would give him his support with the Ottoman authorities to insure a favourable reception of his letter.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. STANTON.

No. 263.

The Earl of Clarendon to Colonel Stanton.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, November* 8, 1869.

YOUR despatches Nos. 91, 94 and 98 have been received. You will express great satisfaction at the conciliatory spirit in which the Viceroy is prepared to act, as His Highness must be well aware that a prolongation of the unsatisfactory relations between the Sultan and himself must be a cause of embarrassment to the Governments of England and France, whose goodwill towards him he cannot doubt, and who desire that no privilege that he can justly claim under the Firmans should be curtailed. The difference seems reduced to a matter of small importance, and the Viceroy can hardly hesitate in some form or other to satisfy as far as possible the Sultan's wishes, in reliance that in the course of the next four years during which His Highness has restricted himself from making a fresh

loan, an interpretation of the Firman of 1867 satisfactory to the Sultan and His Highness may be arrived at.

No. 264.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 9, *morning.)*

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, November* 8, 1869, *afternoon.*

ON the 6th I received your despatch No. 355, and I have urged both on the Sultan and the Grand Vizier the acceptance of the proposed arrangement of the difference with the Viceroy.

I pressed upon them your Lordship's opinion that, provided the Viceroy engaged to obtain the sanction of the Sultan for future loans, it is immaterial whether it is done verbally or in writing, and I succeeded in getting their adherence to this view.

There is, however, no prospect of their assenting to the proposal of the French Government, sent through M. Bourée, that it shall be deemed sufficient if the Viceroy asks unofficially for the authorization in question.

They would apparently be content that the precedent of 1868, which is taken as the *status quo*, should be strictly followed, but it is regarded as indispensable that the Sultan's sanction for the loans shall be formally asked for.

No. 265.

Mr. West to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 10.)

(No. 140.)
My Lord, *Paris, November* 9, 1869.

AFTER the receipt of your Lordship's telegraphic despatch of this day's date, I called upon the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne and told him that your Lordship had received a despatch from Mr. Elliot, by which it would appear that the Sultan and Grand Vizier were willing to accept the *status quo* of 1868, and the interpretation put up it by the Governments of France and England, as regarded the loan question, but that there appeared some difficulty respecting a proposition sent through M. Bourée. His Excellency read to me his despatch to the French Ambassador, as well as a telegram subsequently sent to him, and I did not gather from them that the French proposal alluded to by Mr. Elliot, that it shall be deemed sufficient if the Viceroy asks unofficially for the authorization to make loans, was put forward otherwise than as interpreting the *status quo*. His Excellency said that if the Sultan and Grand Vizier were content that the precedent of 1868, which is taken as the *status quo*, should be strictly followed, it appeared to him that the difficulty was in a fair way of being overcome. He had, he said, not as yet received any communication from M. Bourée.

I have, &c.
(Signed) L. S. SACKVILLE WEST.

No. 265*a*.

Aali Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Clarendon by Musurus Pasha, November 10.)

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le* 8 *Novembre*, 1869.

REÇU télégramme No. 113.

Tout en remerciant le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique de ses dispositions bienveillantes, je dois vous informer que MM. Elliot et Bourée sont venus nous faire, au nom de leurs Gouvernements, une proposition tendante à décider la Sublime Porte à se contenter d'une communication verbale et officieuse à la place d'une demande d'autorisation pour les emprunts extérieurs de l'Egypte. L'adhésion à une pareille transaction équivaut à l'annulation de notre demande. Nous avons dû, par conséquent, décliner cette nouvelle proposition. Je vous donnerai prochainement les directions nécessaires à cet égard.

No. 266.

Viscount de Contades to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 11.)

M. le Comte, *Le 9 Novembre*, 1869.

D'APRES le désir que vous m'avez exprimé ce matin, j'ai l'honneur de vous transmettre ci-joint un memorandum de la lettre adressée à notre Consul-Général à Alexandrie et dont j'ai été autorisé à donner confidentiellement connaissance à votre Excellence.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) CONTADES.

Inclosure in No. 266.

Memorandum.

(Confidentiel.)

C'EST avec un sincère regret que le Gouvernement de l'Empereur a vu s'élever le différend qui existe entre le Khédive et la Porte. Il désire le bien du Vice-Roi; mais il veut aussi le maintien de la tranquillité en Orient, qui importe à l'Europe entière.

La contestation ne saurait être prolongée davantage. Le Vice-Roi doit s'en rapporter au langage tenu par le Sultan dans l'affaire des emprunts. La parole du Souverain est en cause, sa dignité engagée. En refusant d'en tenir compte le Khédive rendrait un conflit inévitable. Le Sultan n'a pas soutenu que l'autorisation de contracter l'emprunt de 1868 ait été demandé par dépêche officielle.

Le Vice-Roi pourrait déclarer que pour prouver son respect pour le Sultan il considère l'affirmation de Sa Majesté comme le véritable commentaire du Firman de 1867. Il s'engagerait alors à demander, dans la même forme officieuse, l'autorisation de conclure des emprunts à l'étranger.

Si le Vice-Roi rejettait cette combinaison, sa situation deviendrait extrêmement grave, et il serait impossible d'empêcher la Porte de mettre à exécution les mesures qu'elle a menacé de prendre.

Si au contraire le Khedive adopte cette combinaison, il fera disparaître la seule difficulté sérieuse qui retarde le rétablissement de la bonne harmonie, et l'opinion publique, comme les Puissances, lui en sauront gré.

No. 267.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. West.

(No. 157. Confidential.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, November* 11, 1869.

THE French Chargé d'Affaires communicated to me yesterday confidentially a despatch addressed by the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne to the French Consul-General in Egypt, of which the substance is as follows:—

The Emperor regrets the difference which exists between the Khedive and the Porte, His Imperial Majesty desires the welfare of the Viceroy, but he desires also that the tranquillity of the Levant, in which all Europe is concerned, should be maintained.

The discussion cannot be further protracted. The Viceroy should have regard to the language held by the Sultan in the matter of loans; the word of the Sovereign is concerned,—his dignity at stake. By refusing to take heed of them, the Viceroy would render a conflict inevitable.

The Sultan has not insisted that the authority to contract the loan of 1868 was applied for in an official despatch. The Viceroy might declare that, in order to prove his respect for the Sultan, he considers His Imperial Majesty's assertion as the true commentary on the Firman of 1867, and he might thereupon pledge himself to apply in the same unofficial form for authority to conclude foreign loans.

If the Viceroy should reject this arrangement his position would become extremely serious, and it would be impossible to prevent the Porte from carrying out the measures to which it has threatened to have recourse.

If, on the other hand, the Viceroy adopts this arrangement, he will remove the only serious difficulty which retards the re-establishment of a good understanding, and public opinion, as well as the Powers, will be obliged to him for doing so.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 268.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 12.)

(No. 463. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, October* 22, 1869.

AALI PASHA mentioned to me this morning, altogether confidentially, that the Empress of the French had taken an opportunity of speaking to him at some length upon the origin and object of her journey.

She was desirous of doing so, she said, as it had been supposed that the Viceroy's invitation to her and other Sovereigns had been the cause of the present unfortunate relations between him and the Sultan; and although the Emperor had laid the strictest injunctions upon her not to enter into political matters she felt herself bound to let the Grand Vizier know that the Viceroy had not invited her of his own initiative, but had acted upon a wish she had herself expressed.

During the Paris Exhibition, she, after looking at the Model of the Suez Canal, had told the Viceroy how much it would interest her to pass through it, and he could not do less than invite her.

Her real wish, however, was not in fact to see the Canal, but to be enabled to visit India, which was a dream she had greatly at heart, and she had hoped that by going to the opening of the Canal she would be carried within reach of its realization.

This was her intention till very lately, when circumstances had forced her to abandon it.

When the Viceroy a few months ago had renewed the invitation she had asked him whether he had invited the Sultan, and his answer had appeared to her respectful and proper. His Highness had replied that as the opening of the Canal was to take place in the Sultan's dominions, he had certainly not thought of inviting him. His Majesty was the "maître de la maison," and it would have been an impertinence to invite him as a guest.

Aali Pasha answered that the Empress could not fail to find the Viceroy's remark becoming, as Her Majesty did not know the line that His Highness had followed.

It was no doubt very right of him to term the Sultan "the master of the house," and to abstain from inviting him in the same way as other persons; but it could hardly be considered respectful to neglect altogether to intimate to him that a great ceremony was to be celebrated in it. This, however, was what the Viceroy had thought proper to do; he had not only abstained from voluntarily stating that there was to be a solemn opening of the Canal, but he had even gone the length of returning no answer to the question addressed to him on the subject by the Porte: and while this was his conduct toward his own Sovereign, he was dispensing his invitations at every other Court in Europe.

Aali Pasha expressed his satisfaction at having been allowed the opportunity of showing Her Majesty that, even in this secondary question of the invitations, the Viceroy's attitude had been one of marked disrespect towards the Sultan.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 269.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 12.)

(No. 479. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, November* 1, 1869.

IN a short conversation that I have had with Count Beust he expressed himself as altogether favourable to the issue by the Porte of an explanatory Firman defining the privileges that the Sultan had granted to the Viceroy in 1867.

Your Lordship is aware that I have for some time been of opinion that this would be the best mode of arriving at a solution of the Egyptian difficulty, but no allusion to it was made by me, and Count Beust's opinion was expressed entirely voluntarily.

I subsequently learnt from my French colleague that he had spoken to him altogether in the same sense, and M. Bourée telegraphed his Excellency's views to Paris.

I have, &c
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 270.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received November* 12.)

(No. 483. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, November* 2, 1869.

I ASKED Aali Pasha this morning what course he how proposed to follow with regard to the Egyptian difficulty.

He said that as soon as the Viceroy's royal visitors had left Egypt a Firman would be issued clearly laying down his position and privileges.

It was his intention to commence it with a statement of the arrangement of 1841, and to recapitulate the concessions and privileges that have been subsequently granted.

He had originally meant that the suspension of the Firman of 1867 should be declared; but I strongly recommended that this should, if possible, be avoided, and I am glad to find that it will not be resorted to.

I again impressed upon the Grand Vizier the necessity of observing the utmost moderation in framing the new Firman, and recommended that, with a view to avoid any accusation of severity, it should expressly confirm all former privileges and concessions.

His Highness' answer led me to hope that this may be done. He said that it was out of deference to the wishes of the friendly Governments that he had resolved to stop short at the very moderate measure now proposed; but he hoped he might calculate upon the Viceroy being given to understand that, if he should answer it by any declared act of insubordination, the Powers would leave His Highness to bear the consequences of any measure which might be found necessary to vindicate the Sultan's authority.

I asked the Grand Vizier what Count Beust had said to him upon this question.

He replied that M. de Beust had in the first instance suggested that the Porte should be satisfied with sending an intimation to all the guaranteeing Governments of their view of the position of the Viceroy; but he had at once told his Excellency that this would certainly not be sufficient, and that the position must be defined by a Firman. To this proposal Count Beust seems to have assented without hesitation, and to have expressed his cordial approval.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 271.

Mr. West to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received November* 12.)

(No. 146.)

My Lord, *Paris, November* 11, 1869.

I HAVE just seen Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, who read to me a telegraphic despatch which he had received from M. Bourée, the purport of which was much the same as that of Mr. Elliot to your Lordship of the 8th instant, and corroborated what his Excellency had therein stated. The Prince said he had written to Vienna on the subject of what he considered was Count Beust's proposition, namely, that the actual position of the contending parties should be defined by a fresh Firman, and appeared annoyed that he should have waited till he got to Constantinople to make it. He could not, he said, understand why, if both parties accepted the precedent of 1868 as regarded the loan question, it was necessary to go into further details, but that he supposed we should now have to deal with a new phase in the question; to which, however, he did not seem to attach much importance. My impression is, that he is not at all inclined to adopt the measure of a new Firman as a solution of the difficulty.

I have, &c.

(Signed) L. S. SACKVILLE WEST.

No. 272.

Colonel Stanton to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received November* 15.)

(No. 101.)

My Lord, *Cairo, November* 5, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith to your Lordship a copy of a French translation of the letter addressed by His Highness the Khedive to the Grand Vizier, referred to in my despatch No. 98 of the 29th ultimo, and which was despatched from Cairo on the 3rd instant.

I beg also to forward to your Lordship a copy of my despatch of the 2nd instant, addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, on the subject of this letter.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. STANTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 272.

Colonel Stanton to Mr. Elliot.

Sir, *Cairo, November* 2, 1869.

NUBAR PASHA has just informed me that the Khedive's letter to the Grand Vizier will be despatched by a special steamer to-morrow morning, direct for the Dardanelles, where it will await the arrival of the mail-steamer and hand over its despatches, and I avail myself of the opportunity of sending this despatch to your Excellency.

From what Nubar Pasha stated to me this evening, it appears that the Khedive is apprehensive that the steps he has now taken will be misinterpreted by the Grand Vizier into a readiness on His Highness' part to give way on the point still in dispute. This, I am assured, is not the case, and Nubar Pasha informed me His Highness had expressed a wish that I should write to your Excellency to explain this point.

I assured Nubar Pasha I had not given your Excellency any reason to suppose the Khedive was disposed to yield on the disputed point of foreign loans, and I communicated to his Excellency the substance of the despatch I had addressed to Lord Clarendon on the subject, a copy of which was forwarded to your Excellency with my despatch of yesterday's date, which he stated was generally in accordance with the terms of the letter that had been written; and I added that the letter would at all events remove one great cause of the irritation existing at Constantinople, as His Highness' persistance in not replying to the Grand Vizier's letter was considered as a marked disrespect to the Sultan.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. STANTON.

Inclosure 2 in No. 272.

The Viceroy of Egypt to the Grand Vizier.

(Traduction.) *Le* 3 *Novembre*, 1869.

L'AMBASSADEUR de Sa Majesté Britannique auprès de la Sublime Porte a communiqué à l'Agent de Sa Majesté en Egypte la manière de voir exacte de votre Altesse, relative aux Agents que je pourrai envoyer en Europe, avec mission de négocier des arrangements spéciaux sur les matières mentionnées dans le Firman que Sa Majesté m'a accordé.

J'ai envoyé copie de cette communication à mon Kapou-Kiaya. J'ai compris par cette communication que votre Altesse considérait que les Ambassadeurs de l'Empire devaient se borner simplement à présenter ses Agents aux Ministres des Affaires Etrangères, sans entrer en rien dans le but de leur mission. Quoique depuis la date du Firman de 1867, les Agents que j'ai pu envoyer se soient toujours présentés d'eux-mêmes aux Ministres des Affaires Etrangères, dans mon désir de témoigner de mon dévouement à Sa Majesté, et de montrer combien je suis heureux d'être dans une parité d'idées avec l'Empire, je m'empresse d'accepter et de me conformer à cette manière de voir de votre Altesse. Dieu sait combien je suis reconnaissant à votre Altesse, qui, sur ce point, a dissipé un malentendu; je ne sais vraiment comment la remercier.

J'espère aussi qu'un renseignement qui m'est parvenu au sujet de la non-présentation du budget se trouvera aussi confirmé, et j'ai d'autant plus bien d'espérer cette confirmation

que votre Altesse a eu la bonté de me donner la bonne nouvelle que Sa Majesté Impériale voulait toujours maintenir les privilèges accordés à l'Egypte depuis 1841.

Il ne reste conséquemment plus que la question des emprunts. J'ai tout lieu d'espérer que, grâce aux sentiments d'équité et de justice de votre Altesse, cette question aussi se résoudra conformément aux termes des Firmans. Faire dépendre les emprunts à contracter d'une autorisation spéciale se serait toucher aux plus petits détails de l'administration intérieure de l'Egypte, qu'il a plu à Sa Majesté de m'octroyer, par son dernier Firman; ce serait rendre ce privilège illusoire. Si le cas n'eût pas été tel, je sais que mon devoir eût été de me conformer complètement au désir de votre Altesse.

Toutes les communications de votre Altesse sont empreintes d'un esprit de sincérité et de franchise; c'est pour cela que j'expose cette considération à votre Altesse, avec le même esprit de franchise et de sincérité. Je prie votre Altesse de vouloir bien agréer cette considération. J'ai tout espoir dans la volonté de notre auguste Souverain, qui ne veut pas amoindrir les privilèges de l'Egypte, et dans les sentiments d'équité et de bienveillance de votre Altesse. En acceptant cette considération, que je soumets à votre Altesse, Sa Majesté se trouvera avoir redoublé à mon égard les faveurs qui sont ce qu'il y a de plus précieux au monde pour moi.

No. 273.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir A. Paget.

(No. 152. Confidential.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, November* 15, 1869.

I TRANSMIT to you herewith confidentially, for your own information, a printed copy of correspondence which has passed between this Department and various Missions abroad respecting the relations between the Porte and the Khedive; and, with reference to the wish expressed by Count Menabrea, referred to in the concluding part of your despatch No. 265 of the 27th ultimo, I have to instruct you to inform the Italian Government generally of the views entertained by that of Her Majesty upon the various points which have come under discussion.

I am, &c.

(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 274.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 17.)

(No. 489.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, November* 7, 1869.

THE Sultan granted me yesterday a private audience previous to my proceeding to Egypt.

I availed myself of the opportunity to enter upon the subject of his difference with the Viceroy, and to urge upon His Majesty the acceptance of the proposal suggested by the French Government, and which your Lordship's despatches Nos. 354 and 355 of the 28th ultimo, received a few minutes before, had directed me to support.

The Sultan went at length into the question, and complained of the countenance that had been shown to the Viceroy in the attitude he had adopted.

He authorized me to assure your Lordship that he had no intention either of dismissing the Khedive or of revoking any of the privileges that had been conferred upon him.

His deposition, indeed, would lead to no good; for he would be succeeded by Mustapha Fazyl Pasha, who would not prove a better Governor, and of the two he preferred the present Viceroy.

While, however, he did not propose to withdraw the privileges granted, he saw that it was necessary to act in a different manner from that which he had formerly adopted.

While he still had confidence in Ismail Pasha he had voluntarily extended his freedom of action, in the belief that it might be exercised for the benefit of the country he governed; but he had been greatly deceived in that expectation, and he found that from the extravagance of the Government the people were being oppressed and taxed to an extent unknown in other parts of the Empire.

It was necessary to put a stop to this and to prevent the constantly increasing taxation from bringing the country to ruin.

As long as he had still felt the confidence he had alluded to he had without remark or protest permitted the Khedive to do many things that he was not strictly entitled to do; but His Majesty could not admit that, because he had allowed these things to a man whom he trusted, it was to be assumed that he had conceded them as an eternal and absolute right when he found that that man was unworthy of his confidence.

This, however, seemed to be the position that was taken by those who supported the Khedive, and who considered that anything he had once done he was entitled to do for ever.

It was true that the Viceroy had undertaken to give up the iron-clads and the rifles that he had ordered, but this would be merely a temporary check upon his ambition if he were to enjoy the faculty of making unlimited loans upon his own authority, which he might expend upon preparations for the assertion of his independence.

The Sultan alluded to the camp he had recently formed upon the Bosphorus, in order to have a review in honour of the Royal personages who were coming to visit him, and said that he understood that this had been represented by the Viceroy as a hostile demonstration against himself requiring similar preparation upon his own part; but he supposed I was aware that the camp in question had been made without the slightest reference to Egypt, and had been broken up as soon as the occasion for which it was required had passed.

He had, he said, required nothing but what he was strictly entitled to demand, and the obstinacy with which it had been refused was solely owing to the belief entertained by the Viceroy that he might count upon the support of France.

His Majesty was aware of the efforts your Lordship had been making to bring the matter to a satisfactory conclusion, and this afforded only another instance of the friendly sympathy he had always experienced from Her Majesty's Government.

I said that, being so well assured of your Lordship's interest, he would perhaps be disposed to listen to your recommendation to accept the suggestion that was now to be made by the French Ambassador, and which I was instructed to support to the utmost of my power.

His Majesty repeated that he would be satisfied if his verbal sanction for future Egyptian loans was obtained, but he considered also that an engagement should be got to prevent the further imposition of taxes upon the Egyptian people.

I saw Aali Pasha the following morning, when he had already seen the Sultan, and had been made acquainted with the substance of our conversation.

With regard to a verbal instead of a written sanction for the loans, he said the difficulty would lie in finding a means of coming to an understanding about it.

He would have no hesitation in saying to the Governments of England and France that the Sultan would be satisfied with giving a verbal sanction if the Viceroy preferred it, but he would neither express this in a demand sent to the Viceroy nor accept it if ostensibly proposed by him. Let him admit the principle that the demand was to be made, and no difficulty would be found in the manner of carrying it out.

The Sultan, as His Majesty had told me, would be satisfied with giving a verbal authorization; but must insist upon his right of being formally asked to do so.

Aali Pasha's language and manner left it impossible for me to doubt that he was resolved to make no further concession, and also to issue an explanatory Firman as soon as the Empress of the French and the Emperor of Austria had left Egypt.

He refused so decidedly to entertain all arguments that could be brought against such a course that I soon saw myself limited to an endeavour to ensure the new instrument being as little limitatory and as moderate as possible, confining it to the definition of uncertain points in regard to the Firman of 1867, and avoiding all extraneous or unnecessary matter.

The Grand Vizier intimated to me that sooner than make further concessions he will resign his post, and I do not believe this to be any vain threat, for he is supported in his resolution by the unanimous voice of his colleagues.

His resignation, which would be a misfortune in many ways, would moreover aggravate instead of diminishing the difficulties of the situation; for although it is impossible to surmise who might be his successor, it may safely be predicted that the Government would fall into hands far more likely than his to precipitate a dangerous crisis.

It may, I believe, be fairly stated that there is not now a man in Turkey who has sufficient weight or influence in the country to venture to go as far as Aali Pasha in offending public opinion and national feeling by the moderation of his policy, and his deference to the wishes of foreign Governments.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 275.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 17.)

(No. 490.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, November 7, 1869.*

MR. WEST has forwarded to me a copy of his despatch to your Lordship, No. 102, of the 29th ultimo, reporting some observations of the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne upon my despatch No. 441, from which I regret to perceive that I had failed to express myself as clearly as I had wished upon some points connected with the Turco-Egyptian difference.

It was far from my intention to say that the Khedive had not accepted the demand of the Porte with reference to the negotiation of Egyptian Agents with foreign Governments.

His Highness' answer, on the contrary, upon that matter had been deemed satisfactory by Aali Pasha; but I thought it my duty to point out to your Lordship that Nubar Pasha's confidential memorandum, upon which I was then commenting, explained away the Viceroy's acceptation in a manner that would not be admitted by the Porte.

A reference to the memorandum would, I believe, bear out that opinion, and I may add that with a view to avoid the injurious effect which I foresaw as likely to be produced by it, I intentionally abstained from making it known to Aali Pasha.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 276.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 17.)

(No. 493. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, November 8, 1869.*

THE denial of the Viceroy having either asked for or obtained the Sultan's sanction for his last loan has been so explicit that I was desirous of hearing from His Majesty's own lips some statement on the subject. I was aware that it would cause great indignation if I said that the Khedive had called His Majesty's word in question, or showed that it was in any way doubted; but I led the Sultan to speak of that occurrence and directly to allude to the sanction which he had then given for the loan.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 277.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 17.)

(No. 494.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, November 8, 1869.*

THE discrepancy between the assertions of the Porte and those of the Viceroy on the subject of the number of the rifles said to have been ordered on His Highness' account is so great that I have begged to be furnished with the data upon which the Turkish statement is based.

I have now the honour to inclose the copy of the information supplied to me by the Porte upon this subject.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 277.

Note verbale enclosing the Orders for Arms given by the Viceroy of Egypt in Europe and America.

PAR une lettre confidentielle en date du 27 Juillet dernier le Chargé d'Affaires de la Sublime Porte à St. Pétersbourg donne les détails suivants sur le contenu d'un contrat que le Vice-Roi d'Egypte a passé avec la maison Norris en Amérique au commencement du mois précité.

D'après ce contrat, 20,000 fusils devaient être livrés le 15 Octobre, 1869; 40,000 le 1 Janvier prochain: et 40,000 autres le 15 Avril suivant: le tout 100,000 fusils.

Le prix convenu est de 3 livres sterling par fusil.

Cinquante mille fusils en plus doivent être livrés le 1 Août, 1870; seulement le contrat pour ces derniers 50,000 n'était pas encore signé, Ratif Pasha insistant d'obtenir une réduction de prix sur cette livraison.

Son Excellence Djémil Pasha a transmis de son côté au Ministère Impérial à la date du 23 Juillet dernier la copie d'un contrat passé entre ce même Ratif Pasha et un fabricant pour une commande considérable de fusils "Remington" pour le compte du Khidiv d'Egypte. D'autre part, d'après un télégramme de son Excellence Aristarchi Bey de Berlin en date de 11 Août dernier, la signature d'un contrat pour l'acquisition de 10,000 fusils à aiguille à Dantzig, toujours pour le compte de l'Egypte, était imminente.

Indépendamment de ce qui précède, Blacque Bey signalait aussi à la date du 3 Août dernier l'arrivée à Washington du Colonel Minnie, ex-officier de l'armée Anglaise, avec une mission du Vice-Roi d'Egypte. Il a passé un contrat avec la manufacture d'armes de Remington pour une fourniture de 60,000 fusils du système de ce nom, au prix de 3 livres sterling 10 shillings la pièce. Il a également commandé plusieurs millions de cartouches, et d'après ce qu'on assurait il devait acheter en même temps 15,000 revolvers du même système. Le Ministre de la Sublime Porte aux Etats-Unis ajoutait qu'il tenait ces renseignements des associés mêmes de M. Remington.

Dans son rapport en date du 22 du même mois Blacque Bey, en revenant sur ce qui précède, faisait savoir au Ministère Impérial que le Colonel Rustem Bey, qui se trouve en Amérique pour certaines commandes, et qui, à ce titre, est en relation avec les grands fabricants d'armes, avait appris que la commande susmentionnée du Vice-Roi avait été augmentée de 140,000 fusils, ce qui portait le total à 200,000 fusils.

Dans un autre rapport tout récemment adressé par la Légation Impériale à Florence sous la date du 20 Octobre dernier, on signale le passage par la station du chemin-de-fer à Foggia, en Italie, d'un convoi de vingt-cinq caisses contenant des crosses de fusils, et de vingt-trois autres caisses contenant des fusils rayés se chargeant par la culasse. D'après les informations recueillies par le Consul-Général de la Sublime Porte à Naples, toutes ces caisses provenaient de la fabrique Micheloni à Paris, de Brescia, et étaient recommandées à M. Menotte Raffaële à Brindisi pour leur expédition à la maison de commerce Antoine Coeu et Cie. d'Alexandrie d'Egypte. Un représentant de cette maison d'Alexandrie, le Signor Raffaële Stoppa accompagnait, du reste, le convoi. Vuliteh Effendi ajoute que, selon des renseignements authentiques, ces caisses seront suivies d'un second envoi plus considérable, et que le tout ensemble devrait être embarqué à Brindisi pour Alexandrie: que, de plus, les armes seraient commissionnées par le Gouvernement Egyptien pour l'armement des 10,000 enrôlés étrangers qui se trouvent, dit-on, reunis à Alexandrie pour former une garde nationale. Le susdit Antoine Coeu est, dit-on, le Président de l'Association des Ouvriers à Alexandrie d'Egypte.

No. 278.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 17.)

(No. 495.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, November 8, 1869.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose the copy of a letter that I have received from the Viceroy of Egypt on learning that I had been directed by your Lordship to attend the opening of the Suez Canal. My reply to His Highness is likewise inclosed.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 278.

The Viceroy of Egypt to Mr. Elliot.

Palais de Kase-el-Nil, le 19 Octobre, 1869.

M. l'Ambassadeur,

M. L'AGENT et Consul-Général de Sa Majesté vient de m'annoncer que le Gouvernement de la Reine avait bien voulu faire choix de votre Excellence pour assister à l'inauguration du Canal de Suez. Je me suis empressé de remercier le Gouvernement

de Sa Majesté d'un choix qui ne pourrait m'être plus agréable, et je tiens, M. l'Ambassadeur, à vous exprimer à vous-même combien j'ai été heureux de l'occasion qui m'est offerte de vous faire connaître un pays qui se rattache à la Grande Bretagne par tant de liens commerciaux, et aussi de vous renouveler de vive voix l'assurance de tous mes sentiments d'estime et de haute considération.

Je prie, &c.
(Signé) ISMAIL.

Inclosure 2 in No. 278.

Mr. Elliot to the Viceroy of Egypt.

Altesse, *Constantinople, le 8 Novembre*, 1869.

JE m'empresse d'accuser la réception de la lettre obligeante, en date du 19 Octobre, que votre Altesse m'a fait l'honneur de m'écrire pour me féliciter du choix que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté a bien voulu faire de ma personne pour le représenter à l'inauguration du Canal de Suez.

Je prie votre Altesse d'agréer mes vifs remercîments des expressions flatteuses dont elle se sert à mon égard. La mission dont je suis chargé me cause, il est vrai, d'autant plus de satisfaction qu'elle me fournit l'occasion de voir un pays que j'ai toujours désiré de connaître, en même temps que celle de renouveler de vive voix à votre Altesse l'assurance de mes sentiments d'estime et de très haute considération.

(Signé) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 279.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Elliot.

(No. 373.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, November* 18, 1869.

I HAVE to acquaint your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government approve the language which you held to the Sultan and Aali Pasha, as reported in your despatch No. 489, Confidential, of the 7th instant, upon the subject of the differences with the Viceroy of Egypt.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 280.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Elliot.

(No. 374.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, November* 18, 1869.

I HAVE to acquaint your Excellency that I approve of the course you adopted, as reported in your despatch No. 493, Confidential, of the 8th instant, in order to induce the Sultan to speak of the sanction which he had given to the last loan contracted by the Viceroy.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 281.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Elliot.—(Received November 19.)

(Telegraphic.) *Alexandria, November* 19, 1869.

VICEROY has promised me that if Porte sends an explanatory Vizirial letter instead of explanatory Firman confining it to the question of loans, and treating the other points as settled by the explanations already given, he will answer in a manner that shall be deemed satisfactory. He will say that he will make no loan for general purposes without sanction of Porte; but the Sultan having conceded to him free internal administration of the country, he considers himself entitled to make such loans as may be required for important public works undertaken for the purpose of developing it resources.

I have told him I cannot guarantee the Porte consenting to this, but that I should make it known to your Lordship and recommend it at Constantinople.

I telegraph in this sense to Mr. Barron, for communication to Aali Pasha.

The concession obtained from the Viceroy is very important, and if accepted by the Porte as sufficient satisfaction, time will be left for any further arrangements with regard to the reproductive loans that His Highness speaks of.

No. 282.

Mr. Lytton to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 20.)

(No. 30. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Vienna, November* 17, 1869.

BARON ALTENBURG has received a despatch from Count Beust the contents of which he is authorized to communicate to the Governments of England, France, and Italy.

This despatch explains the advice given by Count Beust to Aali Pasha on the subject of the relations between Egypt and the Porte.

Count Apponyi will receive by the Austrian messenger who leaves Vienna this evening, instructions to communicate it to your Lordship.

Count Beust in this despatch distinguishes between questions of dignity and questions in which material interests are really involved. With regard to the former he has, he says, urged the Grand Vizier not to attach excessive importance to the personal behaviour of the Viceroy ("de ne pas tant s'occuper des allures du Khédive").

With regard to the latter he observes that whilst, on the one hand, the five Powers will certainly not consent to recognize Egypt as a completely independent State, on the other hand it is equally certain that they will never allow it to be reduced to the position of an ordinary province of Turkey. He has, he says, recommended that the Sultan should issue a Firman, distinctly enumerating the demands of the Porte in regard to the four principal questions now in dispute with the Viceroy; that he should communicate this Firman to the five Powers, and that, with due precautions against the appearance of admitting the right of the Powers to interfere in the internal affairs of Turkey; and that the Porte should at the same time point out to the Powers that the practical solution of these four questions (viz., those concerning, 1st, troops; 2nd, ships of war; 3rd, diplomatic representation; 4th, loans) depends much more on the disposition and conduct of foreign Governments than the will of the Khedive; and that if the Powers refuse to hold diplomatic relations with the Viceroy, or to accord their tacit sanction to his pretensions in regard to the other three points, these questions will settle themselves.

Count Beust adds that the Grand Vizier seemed disposed to follow this advice, and Mr. Elliot and M. Bourée to support it.

As the communication above referred to is confined to the French, English, and Italian Governments, I presume that his Excellency is anxious to secure the co-operation of France and England before committing himself any further in the matter.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RT. LYTTON.

No. 283.

Colonel Stanton to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 22.)

(No. 103. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Cairo, November* 12, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt on the 10th instant of your Lordship's telegraphic despatch of the 8th, instructing me to express to the Egyptian Government your Lordship's great satisfaction at the conciliatory spirit in which the Minister of Foreign Affairs was prepared to act; and I beg to inform your Lordship that I have communicated to Nubar Pasha the substance of your Lordship's telegram.

My despatch No. 101 of the 5th instant will have informed your Lordship of the further steps taken in this matter by the Egyptian Government, and I trust the letter addressed by the Khedive to the Grand Vizier will meet with your Lordship's approval.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. STANTON

No. 284.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 22.)

(No. 496.)
Constantinople, November 9, 1869.

My Lord,

I SAW Aali Pasha this afternoon. He told me that he had at length received a letter from the Viceroy, but that it could hardly be called an answer to the one he had sent to him by the Sultan's orders, and the impression it has produced is far from favourable, for it contained a direct assertion that the right to conclude foreign loans was conferred by the Firman of 1867.

Aali Pasha declares that if he had had the slightest doubt of the necessity of issuing a Firman to clear up the meaning of the former one, the Viceroy's present letter would have convinced him that it could not be avoided.

I said that as he seemed resolved to take that course he must allow me to take advantage of the last conversation I should have with him before going to Egypt, to repeat the hope I had before expressed, that the new Firman might, as far as possible, avoid entering into unnecessary matter.

He replied that he had been considering the question, and had also come to the conclusion that it would be best to confine the comments to the disputed meaning of the Firman of 1867, and to do it as concisely as possible, endeavouring to avoid all needless cause of irritation.

I said that if the Viceroy let the Firman pass without notice all would be well, but I should like to know what course he proposed to follow, if, as was very likely, the Khedive announced that he would not regard it as binding upon him.

Aali Pasha answered that his course must be guided by that of the Viceroy, but that if his Highness thought fit openly to defy the authority of the Sultan, measures of coercion would certainly be resorted to against him.

I observed that this would probably call down an intervention which the Porte would be powerless to resist.

He regarded it as almost impossible that any Government would throw itself into such an unrighteous quarrel, but in any case the Porte must be content to run the risk of it.

If the Sultan should have to give way before an overwhelming exhibition of European power, it would no doubt be mortifying; but he would not be lowered by it in the estimation of his people, as he would by yielding to the resistance of the Khedive.

If His Majesty's authority in Egypt is to be destroyed, the world should see that it is the result of European interference and not of internal weakness.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 285.

M. de Lavalette to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 24.)

Le 22 Novembre, 1869.

Mon cher Ministre,

VOICI la note confidentielle que je devais vous envoyer, et je regrette que mon voyage à Windsor m'ait fait perdre de vue la promesse que je vous avais faite.

Croyez, &c.
(Signé) LAVALETTE.

Inclosure in No. 285.

Memorandum.

(Confidentielle.)

LA combinaison recommandée, tant à Constantinople qu'à Alexandrie, par la France et l'Angleterre, a la double avantage, aux yeux du Gouvernement Français, de ménager les susceptibilités du Vice-Roi sans compromettre les intérêts de la Porte. Le Gouvernement de l'Empereur considère la démarche officieuse que devrait faire le Khedive comme offrant au fond des garanties aussi efficaces que celles qui résulteraient d'une démarche officielle. Dans sa pensée, en effet, le consentement préalable à la Porte, bien que sollicité dans des formes moins solennelles demeurerait toujours la condition essentielle de la validité des emprunts contractés par le Vice-Roi.

No. 286.

The Earl of Clarendon to Lord Lyons.

(No. 907.)
Foreign Office, November 24, 1869.

My Lord,

THE French Ambassador has read to me part of a despatch which he had received from the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, with reference to the proposal recently made to the Porte that the Khedive should pledge himself to apply in an unofficial form for authority to conclude foreign loans.

His Excellency remarked that the arrangement recommended by France and England both at Constantinople and Alexandria had in the eyes of the French Government this double advantage, that it did not wound the susceptibility of the Viceroy or compromise the interests of the Porte. The Government of the Emperor considered that the unofficial step which it is proposed that the Khedive should take, offers in reality guarantees as efficacious as those which would result from official steps. In fact, in its opinion, the previous consent of the Porte, although applied for in less solemn form, would always remain a condition essential to the validity of the loans to be contracted by the Viceroy. I asked M. de Lavalette whether I was right in considering that, although the sanction of the Porte was to be solicited in an unofficial form by the Khedive, yet that the right of absolute veto would rest with the Sultan, as otherwise the application would amount to nothing more than an announcement of the Khedive's intention to contract a loan. His Excellency said that the meaning of the passage in the despatch which he had last read was, that the Sultan should have a complete right of veto.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 287.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 24.)

(Telegraphic.)
Cairo, November 24, 1869.

THE Viceroy has consented to write to the Porte making the concession explained in my telegram of the 18th.

I have telegraphed to Mr. Barron to urge the Porte not to issue a new Firman.

No. 288.

Mr. Barron to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 25.)

(No. 501.)
Constantinople, November 17, 1869.

My Lord,

WITH reference to Mr. Elliot's No. 496 of the 9th instant, I have now the honour to transmit to your Lordship a translation of the last letter of the Khedive to the Grand Vizier on the differences which have arisen between His Highness and the Porte.

This letter can certainly not be considered an answer to the communications addressed to the Khedive by Aali Pasha on the 29th of August and 9th of September last. Though couched in respectful if not fulsome language, this letter seems to have rather widened the breach between the two parties. Such, at least, is the impression left on me by Aali Pasha's language yesterday.

The Khedive begins by an allusion to certain interpretations which he had received through Her Majesty's Ambassador and Agent, of the privileges and position to be accorded to His Highness' Agents in Europe. This is evidently in allusion to the assurances conveyed in Mr. Elliot's despatch to Colonel Stanton, inclosed in his Excellency's despatch No. 21 of October 2 to your Lordship. Though the difference here is not serious, Aali Pasha considers the present to be less satisfactory than the former language of the Khedive.

On the power of contracting loans the Khedive shows no signs of yielding to the views of the Porte, and by this letter evidently claims that such a power was implied in the last Firman of 1867; which is, however, silent on the subject.

Aali Pasha is still determined to recommend the issue of an explanatory Firman before the end of the present month.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BARRON.

Inclosure in No. 288.

The Viceroy of Egypt to the Grand Vizier.

(Traduction.) *Le 27 Redjib*, 1286 (*le 2 Novembre*, 1869).

PAR la communication de son Excellence M. l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté Britannique à Constantinople, adressée à l'Agent de l'Angleterre en Egypte et dont celui-ci m'a donné connaissance, j'ai compris la véritable pensée de votre Altesse au sujet des Agents que je pourrais envoyer en Europe à l'effet de négocier les arrangements spéciaux que j'aurais à conclure, dans les limites du Firman de privilège, avec les Puissances Européennes. Désirant que votre Altesse prenne connaissance de cette pièce, je la transmets à mon Capou-Kiaya, avec invitation de la placer sous vos yeux, si votre Altesse veut bien la permettre. Il résulte de cette communication, en ce qui touche la question des Agents Egyptiens envoyés avec mission de conclure des arrangements spéciaux, que la pensée de la Sublime Porte se résume à se contenter seulement que ces Agents soient d'abord présentés une fois aux Ministres des Affaires Etrangères par les Représentants de la Sublime Porte, sans ingérence de ceux-ci dans la mission des premiers.

Bien que depuis le Firman de 1284 les Agents Egyptiens se présentent eux-mêmes aux Ministres des Affaires Etrangères sans intermédiaire, je m'empresse, pour faire preuve de mon entier attachement à l'auguste personne de Sa Majesté et de mon désir de me conformer aux intentions de son Gouvernement, d'accepter la teneur de la susdite communication et de m'y conformer; et Dieu le sait, je ne puis assez témoigner à votre Altesse ma gratitude de ce qu'elle a bien voulu élucider ainsi ce point.

En outre, ayant reçu de personnes dignes de toute confiance une nouvelle relative à la non-présentation du Budget, j'aime à espérer que cette nouvelle est exacte et certaine. D'ailleurs, votre Altesse ayant daigné me donner l'heureuse assurance que Sa Majesté était dans la volonté de maintenir et de conserver les privilèges successivement accordés à l'Egypte par des Firmans Impériaux depuis 1241, mon espoir se consolide et se convertit en certitude.

Il reste maintenant un seul point, celui de l'autorisation des emprunts. J'ai la ferme confiance que celui-ci sera également résolu par le recours aux termes formels des Firmans Impériaux, avec la haute équité de votre Altesse reconnue du monde entier. En effet si l'on considère attentivement ce point, comme la subordination nuirait à toutes affaires, petites ou grandes, de la Province Egyptienne, dont l'administration m'a été confiée par la bienveillance seule de Sa Majesté, il est évident que le Firman de privilège accordé en dernier lieu à l'Egypte serait alors sans valeur. Si la chose n'eut pas été ainsi, je n'eusse pas eu d'autre désir, je le sais, que de me soumettre à une simple indication de votre Altesse; ayant la confiance que toutes les communications de votre Altesse ont été inspirées par la plus parfaite sincérité et la plus entière pureté d'intentions, je viens de mon côté vous parler en toute confiance et sincérité. M'appuyant sur l'heureuse assurance que Sa Majesté ne voudra même pas amoindrir les privilèges accordés par la munificence Impériale, comme aussi sur la parfaite sagesse et la haute équité qui distinguent si éminemment votre Altesse, j'espère qu'en acceptant aussi ce point de la façon exposée ci-dessus, elle daignera employer ses bons offices pour faire accroître en ma faveur la haute et féconde bienveillance de Sa Majesté, plus précieuse pour moi que le monde entier et tout ce qu'il renferme.

No. 289.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 25, night.)

(Telegraphic.) *Paris, November 25, 1869.*

I HAVE communicated to Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne the substance of Mr. Elliot's telegrams of the 18th and 24th about the Viceroy. He entirely approves the proposed arrangement, but will not take any steps till he learns your opinion.

No. 290.

The Earl of Clarendon to Lord Lyons.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, November 25, 1869, 2 P.M.*

I HAVE received the following figures from Mr. Elliot, dated Cairo, November 24:—

[See No. 287.]

No. 291.

Mr. Barron to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 26.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, November 25, 1869.*

MR. ELLIOT has transmitted through me certain overtures of the Viceroy tending to distinguish between loans for general purposes and those for public works. His Excellency strongly recommends this concession to be accepted, and that Firman be not issued.

The Grand Vizier answers that the Porte cannot entertain this proposal, cannot allow Viceroy to mortgage the revenues of Egypt for any purpose without special authorization of the Sovereign.

What Viceroy proposes is no concession. Council unanimously refuses to entertain distinction of loans. There is no hope of averting issue of the Firman. Grand Vizier will speak to the Sultan with the view of postponing it for a few days, but doubts of success. I have telegraphed the above to Mr. Elliot.

No. 292.

The Earl of Clarendon to Lord Lyons.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, November 26, 1869, 7·40 P.M.*

I RECEIVED this day the following from Mr. Barron, dated Constantinople, yesterday night:—

[See No. 291.]

No. 293.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 27.)

(No. 1,001.) *Paris, November 26, 1869.*

My Lord,

I TOLD the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne yesterday that it appeared from telegrams despatched to your Lordship from Egypt by Sir Henry Elliot, that the Khedive was willing that the single point on which he and the Porte are still at issue should be settled on the following terms:—

The Porte to abstain from issuing an explanatory Firman, but in lieu thereof to address to the Khedive a Vizirial letter confined to the question of loans. The Khedive to return a satisfactory answer, stating that he will make no loan for general purposes without the sanction of the Porte, but that the free administration of the internal affairs of the country having been confided to him by the Sultan, he considers himself to be entitled to make such loans as may be required for important public works undertaken for the purpose of developing its resources.

The Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne said that he had no hesitation in declaring at once that he entirely approved this arrangement. In fact, if the Khedive had agreed to it, there could be no doubt on the subject. He was disposed to recommend the adoption of it, but he would refrain from asking the orders of the Emperor, or taking any other step, until he was made acquainted with the opinion of Her Majesty's Government.

The Prince proceeded to say that he had just received a despatch from the French Ambassador at Constantinople which was not very clear, but that he gathered from it that the Porte thought of explaining its grievances against the Khedive in a circular addressed to its Representatives abroad instead of issuing an explanatory Firman.

I have, &c.

(Signed) LYONS.

No. 294.

Musurus Pasha to Aali Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Clarendon by Musurus Pasha, November 27.)

(Télégraphique.) *Londres, le 27 Novembre*, 1869.

LORD CLARENDON m'a dit que, d'après un télégramme qu'il venait de recevoir de Constantinople, la Sublime Porte allait publier et adresser au Khedive un Firman

explicatif du Firman de 1867; que bien qu'il n'eut pas conseillé à la Sublime Porte de recourir à cette mesure, il n'avait pas à émettre un avis sur une résolution que le Gouvernement Impérial avait déjà prise dans l'exercice de ses droits souverains; mais qu'il me priait de télégraphier de sa part à votre Altesse qu'il lui recommandait d'avoir soin que le Firman dont il s'agit fût court, précis et modéré, et se bornât à la question des emprunts sans observations ni discussions, afin d'éviter qu'Ismail Pacha y trouvât un prétexte pour répondre par des justifications et des récriminations.

No. 295.

The Earl of Clarendon to Lord Lyons.

(No. 916.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, November 27, 1869.*

M. DE LAVALETTE read to me this morning a despatch from Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, in which it was suggested that the Porte might issue a concise Firman explaining that the Firman of 1867 did not release the Khedive from his obligation to ask the authority of the Sultan to make loans.

I told his Excellency that provided the Firman was limited to the terms suggested by Prince de la Tour, and was not couched in language that would lead to a rejoinder on the part of the Khedive, I thought it would tend to restrict the points of difference to the simple question of the loans, and thereby afford a chance of a speedy and practical solution of the difficulties.

Your Excellency will have the goodness to communicate this despatch to Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 296.

Mr. Lytton to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 29.)

(No. 34. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Vienna, November 25, 1869.*

WITH reference to my confidential despatch No. 16 of the 10th instant, which contains the following paragraph, "At the same time, however, Baron Altenburg has heard from Count Apponyi that the Turkish Ambassador in London had assured your Lordship that (in consequence, as I understood, of the objections entertained by England and France to this project) the Sultan has decided not to go to Egypt," and with reference also to your Lordship's despatch No. 8, in which your Lordship informs me that you have never expressed any opinion on the subject of the Sultan's visit to Egypt, I regret extremely the unintentional misrepresentation of Baron Altenburg's language which is contained in the paragraph above quoted.

Baron Altenburg mentioned to me in the course of conversation that he heard from Count Apponyi that the notion of the Sultan's visit to Egypt had been abandoned; and I was certainly under the impression that he spoke of the abandonment of it as a consequence of the advice of France and England.

On my reminding him, however, of the conversation referred to in my above-mentioned despatch, his Excellency assures me most positively that he never either stated, or implied, any such thing. On the contrary, he adds that it is impossible he should have done so, since his impression was that the idea of the Sultan being present at the opening of the Suez Canal, though not officially suggested by you, had occurred in the first instance to your Lordship, and that, in any case, he had no reason to believe that objections to it had at any time been raised by the English Government.

I am at a loss to conceive how I could have so completely misunderstood Baron Altenburg, and can only repeat the expression of my regret for the error, which your Lordship's despatch on this subject has enabled me to rectify.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RT. LYTTON.

No. 297.

Mr. Barron to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 29.)

(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, November 29, 1869.*

FIRMAN goes to-day. Recapitulates other points of letter of 28th August, considering them settled. Prohibits new loans and taxes without sanction. Nothing menacing or humbling.

No. 298.

The Earl of Clarendon to Colonel Stanton.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, November 30, 1869.*

WE earnestly recommend the Viceroy not to question the Firman of the Sultan. I telegraph to you in case Mr. Elliot should be absent.

No. 299.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Barron.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, November 30, 1869.*

THE Viceroy, as his last declarations prove, recognizes in principle the rights of the Sultan in the only question which remains to be settled, although he limits the application of that principle.

If the explanatory Firman goes beyond the question of loans and has a threatening tone, the Porte would, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, take upon itself the responsibility of a conflict which circumstances no longer justify. Tell Grand Vizier that great importance is attached to this. French Ambassador will receive similar instructions.

No. 300.

The Earl of Clarendon to Lord Lyons.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, November 30, 1869, 6·30 P.M.*

I HAVE sent to Constantinople a telegram agreed to between the French Ambassador and myself, and approved by French Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Inform Minister for Foreign Affairs that I have telegraphed to Cairo earnestly recommending Viceroy not to question Sultan's Firman.

No. 301.

The Earl of Clarendon to Lord Lyons.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, November 30, 1869, 6·50 P.M.*

I HAVE sent the following figures to Colonel Stanton:—

[See No. 298.]

No. 302.

The Earl of Clarendon to Lord Lyons.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, November 30, 1869.*

I HAVE sent the following figures to Mr. Barron:—

[See No. 299.]

No. 303.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received December 1.)

(No. 1,017.)
My Lord, *Paris, November 30, 1869.*

I MENTIONED to the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne yesterday the contents of Mr. Barron's telegram to your Lordship of the 26th instant, stating that the Porte had taken into consideration the overtures from the Viceroy communicated by Mr. Elliot, and had absolutely rejected Mr. Elliot's strong recommendation that they should be accepted, and that the threatened Firman should not be issued.

The Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne told me that he, on his side, had received a telegram from the French Ambassador at Constantinople, of very much the same purport. He went on to say that he thought the state of things critical, and that it was absolutely necessary that England and France should, without delay, use firm and identic language at Constantinople. The point on which he thought it essential to insist was, that the Firman should be confined to the single question which still remained unsettled, that concerning loans, and that it should not contain any threats or expressions humiliating the Khedive.

After referring to a despatch from the Marquis de Lavalette, reporting the opinions on these points which had been expressed to him by your Lordship, the Prince drew up a draft of a telegram which would, he hoped, be found to be in accordance with your Lordship's views. He gave me a copy of it, and said he should send one immediately to M. de Lavalette, and beg him to submit it to you. He suggested that if you approved it, it should be immediately despatched by each Government to its Representative at Constantinople.

To-day the Prince told me that he had received last night, by telegraph, from London a draft agreed upon by your Lordship and M. de Lavalette, which was to the same effect as his own. In fact, he said, the same idea had occurred to your Lordship and M. de Lavalette in London, and to himself and me here. He had now, however, in his hand a telegram from Constantinople stating that the Firman was to be dispatched yesterday, and that Aali Pasha refused to communicate the contents of it to the French Ambassador, but declared that it was not couched in menacing or offensive terms. I made known to the Prince the contents of Mr. Barron's telegram to your Lordship of yesterday, stating that the Firman recapitulates the points enumerated in the Vizirial letter of the 28th of August, treats them as settled, forbids the Viceroy to contract new loans or impose new taxes without the sanction of the Porte, and contains nothing menacing or humiliating.

The Prince expressed his hope that the Firman might be found to be as innocuous as it was represented by the Porte to be. He thought, however, that it was more than ever necessary that England and France should at once take some step to proclaim to the Porte their union with each other on this question, and their determination not to allow it to disturb the peace of the East. He was of opinion that it was urgent that an identic telegram should be sent by the two Governments immediately; and he conceived that the telegram drawn up by your Lordship and M. de Lavalette would answer the purpose, if the phraseology was so altered as to be applicable to the Firman already issued instead of to the one still open to alteration.

The Prince proceeded to write the draft of which I have the honour to transmit a copy herewith to your Lordship. He trusted that your Lordship would approve it, and dispatch it immediately to Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople. He would, on hearing that you had done so, send it off forthwith to the French Ambassador at that place.

This step having been taken it would, the Prince said, remain for the two Governments to agree upon identic language to be held to the Khedive. He showed me a telegram which he had just received from the French Agent in Egypt, who stated in it that he would use all his influence to induce the Khedive to receive with respect the Firman which was expected to arrive in a few days. The Prince conceived that the Governments of France and England would have no difficulty in coming to an agreement upon conciliatory advice to be tendered in common to the Khedive.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 303.

Draft of Telegram.

LE Khedive, ainsi que témoignent les dernières déclarations, reconnaît en principe le droit du Sultan dans la seule question qui reste à résoudre, bien qu'il en restreigne l'application. Si le Firman explicatif va au-delà de la question des emprunts, la Porte aura fort inopportunément compliqué la situation, et si elle recourait à des mesures comminatoires elle assumerait, dans l'opinion du Gouvernement de , la responsabilité d'un conflit que les circonstances ne justifient plus.

No. 304.

Aali Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Clarendon by Musurus Pasha, December 1.)

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le 30 Novembre, 1869.*

REÇU télégramme No. 123.

Le Firman est parti hier; c'est Server Effendi qui le porte. Il est conçu dans les termes les plus précis et les plus modérés.

No. 305

Sir A. Paget to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received December 1.)

(No. 309.)
My Lord, *Florence, November 22, 1869.*

IN obedience to the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch No. 152 of the 15th instant, I have this day informed M. Blanc, in general terms, of the views of Her Majesty's Government in reference to the points in dispute between the Sultan and the Khedive.

M. Blanc expressed his thanks for this communication.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 306.

The Earl of Clarendon to Lord Lyons.

(No. 925.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, December 1, 1869.*

I RECEIVED your Excellency's despatch of the 30th ultimo, reporting your communications with the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne respecting the new Firman which, at the commencement of those communications, was supposed to be contemplated by the Porte, but which before the conclusion of them was ascertained to have been definitively issued. The precise terms in which that Firman is drawn up are as yet unknown, but Her Majesty's Government agree with M. de la Tour in considering the present aspect of affairs very serious, and concur most cordially with his Excellency in the importance of the two Governments acting in complete accord both at Constantinople and Alexandria to avert the serious complications to which the present state of affairs is but too well calculated to lead.

The terms of the telegram to Mr. Barron, of which a copy is inclosed,* agreed upon between M. de Lavalette and myself, and differing but slightly from that which Prince de la Tour was prepared to address to the French Ambassador at Constantinople, as well as those of the telegram which I sent to Colonel Stanton yesterday, also inclosed,† sufficiently established the identity of views and intentions on the part of the two Governments, and should impress the Porte on the one hand, and the Viceroy on the other, with the conviction that neither England nor France is prepared to acquiesce in the prolongation of a dispute for which there should be no longer the shadow of an excuse.

I doubt not that corresponding instructions will have been sent by telegraph to the French Representatives at Constantinople and Alexandria. In the uncertainty that exists

* No. 299. † No. 298.

as to the precise terms of the Firman, it might lead to future embarrassement to deal with it conjecturally. The Firman is issued, and we cannot safely criticize it before we are in possession of its contents. The telegram already sent to Mr. Barron will suffice as a reserve on the part of Her Majesty's Government of its right and intention to judge the Firman by the terms in which it is conceived, and to act upon that judgment in such manner as they may deem fit. It would seem, therefore, that no further comment can now be made upon the Firman, and that all that need be said at Constantinople at the present moment is to demand officially communication of the terms of the Firman as due to the Powers who have a Treaty-right to intervene, at all events, to a certain extent in any matter which in its consequences might tend to disturb the relations between the Porte and Egypt as established by the Firmans of 1841 and 1866.

If Prince de la Tour should think that a simultaneous communication should be made to the Porte in this sense by the Representatives of France and England, Her Majesty's Government would be prepared to instruct Mr. Barron accordingly.

As regards Egypt, the telegram sent yesterday to Colonel Stanton may for the present suffice; the point to be aimed at is to prevent any sudden outbreak on the part of the Viceroy which might lay him open to a charge of contumacy and raise an additional difficulty in the way of adjustment.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 307.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received December* 1.)

(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, December* 1, 1869.

I HOPE Firman will be properly received, but have thought best to remain here till it arrives.

No. 308.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received December* 1, 7·35 P.M.)

(Telegraphic.) *Paris, December* 1, 4·10 P.M.

THE French Minister for Foreign Affairs sent the telegram to Constantinople last night. He sent to day to the French Agent in Egypt the following telegram:—

"I entirely approve the advice that you propose to give to the Viceroy. Insist then that the Firman be respectfully received by his Highness; and concert your steps with your English colleague, who receives the same instructions as you."

The French Minister thinks that we ought immediately to insist upon the Porte's confining itself to the loan question, and not demanding restrictions on taxation, or introducing any other point included in the Vizirial letter of the 28th of August. He conceives that we cannot press the Viceroy to acquiesce on any other terms, and that our two Governments should come at once to an understanding respecting definite advice to be pressed upon both parties.

No. 309.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir H. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, December* 2, 1869.

I ENTIRELY approve of your staying in Egypt.

No. 310.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir H. Elliot.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, December* 2, 1869.

SEND as soon as possible by telegraph a copy of the new Firman.

No. 311.

The Earl of Clarendon to Lord Lyons.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, December* 3, 1869, 6·40 P.M.

YOUR telegram of yesterday afternoon was received at night. Her Majesty's Government adhere to the opinion expressed in my despatch of yesterday, that before any further step than that suggested in it is taken, it is indispensable that the two Governments should know the exact terms of the Firman. Interference now cannot influence the terms of the Firman, which is on its way to Egypt; but by expressing an opinion on the mere assumption that the Firman purports a certain thing, the Powers may much embarrass themselves when they come to deal with the matter after the exact terms of the document are ascertained.

No. 312.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received December* 2, *night.*)

(Telegraphic.) *Paris, December* 2, 1869, 5·50 P.M.

I HAVE made the substance of your despatch No. 925 known to the French Foreign Minister, and he has sent to Constantinople the following telegram:—

"The interest which we have always manifested to the Porte and the gravity of the circumstances impose upon us the duty to request the Porte officially to communicate to us the text of the explanatory Firman which it has just addressed to the Viceroy."

French Minister begs you to send a similar telegram.

No. 313.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Barron.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, December* 3, 1869.

THE interest which we have always manifested to the Porte and the gravity of the circumstances impose upon us the duty to request the Porte officially to communicate to us the text of the explanatory Firman which it has just addressed to the Viceroy.

No. 314.

The Earl of Clarendon to Lord Lyons.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, December* 3, 1869, 3·45 P.M.

I HAVE sent this day the following figures to Mr. Barron:—

[See No. 313.]

No. 315.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received December* 4.)

(No. 1,024.) *Paris, December* 3, 1869.

My Lord,

ON the day before yesterday I read to Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne your Lordship's despatch No. 916 of the 27th ultimo, containing an account of what had passed between your Lordship and the Marquis de Lavalette on the subject of the Prince's suggestion that the Porte might issue a concise Firman, explaining that the Firman of 1867 did not relieve the Khedive from his obligation to ask the sanction of the Sultan for contracting loans.

The Prince said that he had, as I was aware, been already made acquainted with your Lordship's views by M. de Lavalette, and that he entirely concurred in them. He added, emphatically, that in fact the strong opinion of the French Government was, that the dispute between the Khedive and the Porte must now be restricted to the simple question of the loans.

I proceeded to communicate to the Prince the contents of the telegrams which your Lordship had sent the evening before to Mr. Barron and to Colonel Stanton.

The Prince said that the telegram to Mr. Barron was that which had been drawn up by your Lordship and the Marquis de Lavalette, and that on learning, the night before, by telegraph from M. de Lavalette that it had been despatched by your Lordship, he had immediately telegraphed it to the French Ambassador at Constantinople.

I then proposed that he should send to M. Tricon, the French Agent in Egypt, a telegram similar to that which had been sent by your Lordship to Colonel Stanton.

The Prince referred to the telegram from M. Tricon, which he had shown me the day before, and said that he entirely approved M. Tricon's determination to use all his influence to induce the Khedive to receive the Sultan's Firman with respect.

After some further conversation, the Prince wrote a draft of a telegram to M. Tricon, in the following terms:—

"J'approuve entièrement les conseils que vous vous proposez de donner au Vice-Roi. Insistez donc auprès de lui pour que le Firman soit respectueusement accueilli par Son Altesse, et concertez vos démarches avec votre collègue d'Angleterre, qui reçoit les mêmes instructions que vous."

The Prince said that he was willing to send this telegram, but that if he did so, he must rely upon my informing your Lordship immediately that in his opinion the Governments of France and England ought to lose no time in insisting upon the Porte's confining its demands upon the Khedive to the question of the loans. It was, he observed, stating that the Firman imposed restrictions on the Viceroy's right to establish new taxes. He could not consent to the Porte's introducing this matter, or raising any other point not included in the Vizirial letter of the 28th of August. It seemed to him to be impossible to press the Viceroy to acquiesce, even temporarily, in the Porte's decision on any other terms; and he thought that the two Governments should come without delay to a distinct understanding, and offer simultaneously definite and authoritative advice to both parties.

I said that it appeared to me that as matters stood, the important points were:—1st, to make it felt both at Constantinople and at Cairo that England and France were acting in perfect concert; and 2ndly, to prevent the Viceroy's breaking out on the receipt of the Firman and taking some violent step. I thought that if to the telegrams already sent, he added one to Cairo, similar to that sent by your Lordship, we should have done all that was possible to us under present circumstances to carry both points. As to the contents of the Firman it would, I thought, be more prudent to wait until we had a more full and accurate knowledge of them.

The Prince replied that he was most anxious to maintain the perfect accord which happily existed between France and England, and to make that accord manifest to the Sultan and the Khedive. He was quite ready to send off the telegram he had drawn up; but he should expose himself to the reproaches of the Emperor, and of his colleagues, if, when he informed them he had done so, he did not add that he had insisted with Her Majesty's Government upon the necessity of the Porte's confining its demands to the question of the loans. He must, therefore, beg me to inform your Lordship, with the least possible delay, of what he had said on the subject.

I promised to do so at once by telegraph, and he said that I might add that the telegram to M. Tricon would be sent forthwith.

Yesterday I made the Prince acquainted with the contents of your Lordship's despatch No. 625 of the previous day, which had just reached me. He appeared to agree generally with the views expressed in it, and he concurred in the suggestion that a simultaneous communication should be made by the two Governments to the Porte, to request officially that the terms of the Firman should be communicated to them. He proceed to draw up the following telegram to be addressed to the French Ambassador at Constantinople:—

"L'intérêt que nous avons toujours témoigné à la Porte et la gravité des circonstances nous imposent le devoir de lui demander officiellement la communication du texte du Firman explicatif qu'elle vient d'adresser au Vice-Roi."

The Prince gave orders that this telegram should be sent off immediately to Constantinople, and desired me to inform your Lordship that he had acted upon your suggestion, and to beg you to send a similar telegram to Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires in order that the instruction might reach the Representatives of the two countries at the same time.

The Prince appeared to acquiesce in your Lordship's opinion that the two Governments might now wait until they were acquainted with the exact terms of the Firman; but he repeated that it was essential that the Porte should confine itself to the question

of the loans, and should not make fresh demands beyond those contained in the original Vizirial letter.

His Excellency proceeded to tell me that he had pointed out to the Ottoman Chargé d'Affaires, who had just left him, that it would be extremely imprudent of the Porte to prolong this purposeless dispute at a moment when the serious events which were taking place in Dalmatia might render it necessary for it to turn its whole attention to its frontier provinces in that neighbourhood.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 316.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received December* 5.)

(No. A.)
My Lord, *Suez Canal, November* 16, 1869.

NUBAR PASHA called upon me immediately upon my arrival at Port Said, and we entered at once into conversation upon the differences between the Sultan and the Viceroy.

He protested that nobody could be more thoroughly convinced than himself that it would be an act of madness to aim at establishing the independence of Egypt; but it was, on the other hand, an object of vital importance to preserve the internal administration of the country free from interference from Constantinople, and the limitation of the power of making loans was he considered a step towards the control which he appeared to suspect the Porte of desiring to introduce.

I said that before coming to the merits of the question at issue, he must allow me to allude to the manner in which the misunderstanding had been produced, and I thought he would hardly deny that the Sultan had, in the first instance, grounds for considering that he had not been treated with the deference to which he was entitled by the position in which he stood towards the Viceroy.

The latter had thought proper to invite to the inauguration of the great work, the completion of which we were now about to celebrate, nearly every Sovereign of Europe, —the very first of them being the King of Greece, with whom at that time the Porte had just been on the verge of war.

These Sovereigns were invited to a portion of the Sultan's dominions without any intimation being given to His Majesty himself, and without his even being informed of the Canal being about to be opened.

It was not to be wondered at if this had been looked upon as a studied mark of disrespect, and it had roused the attention of the Porte to other matters connected with Egypt.

It was then perceived that of the vast sums raised by foreign loans a large proportion was devoted to armaments which the Viceroy was not entitled to make, and appeared at the same time to be trying to establish a right of independent negotiation with foreign Governments without communication with the Sultan's Representatives.

All these things had contributed to create the feeling of irritation and distrust which had called forth the five demands of the Porte.

The explanations that had been exchanged might, however, I hoped, be regarded as having already disposed of all of them, excepting that which related to the right of making loans; and we might therefore conveniently confine our discussion to that one particular point. With regard to the intention he attributed to the Porte of interfering in the internal administration of Egypt, my conversations with Aali Pasha, and the assurances I had received from the Sultan, enabled me to say with confidence that I believe it to be groundless, and that if the point contended for by the Sultan's Government were conceded, the Egyptian administration would continue as before, without the slightest impediment from Constantinople.

But while the Sultan had no intention of bringing the administration of Egypt under his direct control, he was firmly resolved not to permit any deviation from the position that had been assigned to the Viceroy.

The Firman of 1867 had been interpreted in Egypt in a manner that had never been contemplated at Constantinople, and that certainly would not be tolerated there.

The Porte had therefore resolved upon issuing a Firman explanatory of the previous instrument of 1867, according to their own view of it, and stating that it did not confer the right of contracting loans.

I told him that it had required all the influence I was enabled to exert at Constanti-

nople to restrain the Porte within the limits of this measure, for it had at first been determined not to explain, but altogether to suspend, the disputed Firman.

The present proposal had the advantage of involving no humiliation on the part of the Khedive, who would not be called on to come forward to make a concession he had already refused.

His Highness had but to allow the Porte's interpretation to pass unanswered,—in the manner, I could have added, in which he had so long acted with regard to the last Vizirial letter, and the question would then be practically at an end; for long before a new loan could be required the present irritation would be allayed, and further arrangements might easily be come to.

Nubar Pasha promised me that he would exert his influence with the Viceroy to persuade him to act as I had suggested.

I pressed upon him the urgency of his doing so, for I could positively assure him that the Porte was resolved not to recede; that if the proposed Firman was met by anything approaching to defiance by the Viceroy, further and more coercive measures would infallibly be resorted to; and that no Government in Europe would be found willing to interfere to protect the Viceroy from the consequences which he would have brought upon himself.

Not very long afterwards Nubar Pasha returned to me, and said he had repeated our conversation to the Khedive, who, however, declared that he could not possibly allow a Firman such as that proposed, to pass without protest, for his silence would imply an acceptance which he was determined not to give.

Nubar Pasha then went at length into the considerations which made the Viceroy regard the limitation of his right to make loans as an infringement upon the free administration of Egypt, which had been given him by the Sultan.

The same objects that had necessitated the previous loans might make further ones requisite, for of all the countries of the world there was none in which costly works of public benefit produced so great an effect upon the development of the internal resources.

The free internal administration had been granted to the Viceroy, who wished to use that freedom in calling out the wonderful capabilities which it enjoyed, by continuing the railroads and canals, by irrigation, and by the improvement of the harbour of Alexandria.

These works would require an outlay greater than could be obtained from the ordinary revenues, and would have to be abandoned if the Egyptian Government were to be deprived of the power of raising money for their execution.

A compliance with the demand of the Porte would effectually cripple the Viceroy's means of administering the country to its best advantage. His Excellency mentioned several important works of undoubted utility which could not be undertaken except by borrowed money.

I replied that I would not altogether dispute the truth of much that he had said, but on the other hand he must admit that a great proportion of the borrowed money had been lavishly expended in the most needless extravagance, and in warlike preparations.

If, however, the Viceroy had answered the Porte by the arguments that had now been used to me, and by simply claiming the right of borrowing money for reproductive purposes, I was certain that the state of the discussion would have been very different from that in which it now is.

I would still suggest that no more time should be lost, and that the Viceroy should at once communicate to Constantinople his readiness to comply with the wishes of the Porte as far as general loans were concerned, even though he continued to claim the right of making them for strictly reproductive purposes, such as those that had before been alluded to.

I said that I was very far from guaranteeing that this would now stop the issue of an explanatory Firman, but it must at least produce a favourable impression which might modify its terms; and it would at least render it easier for the Viceroy, if he considered it absolutely necessary to take some notice of the Firman, to do so in a manner that need not offend the Porte.

Nubar Pasha said he would communicate to the Khedive what I had just been saying.

Very soon afterwards Mr. Moore happened to be on board his Highness' yacht, and the Viceroy having seen him called him and had a long conversation upon the position of affairs, and concluded by asking him to let me know that he would make the required concession with respect to the loans, excepting those that might be required for works of public utility, which were strictly connected with the internal administration of the country; he had consented, he said, to make this concession in deference to the advice

that had been given to him, but he wished it to be understood that he could not go one step further.

His Highness left Port Said almost immediately after this conversation with Mr. Moore.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 317.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received December 5.*)

(No. C.)

My Lord, *Ismaïla, November 18, 1869.*

IN continuation of my yesterday's despatch I have the honour to inform your Lordship that, as it had been decided that the whole of to-day was to be passed at this place, I availed myself of the opportunity to call upon the Viceroy in his yacht.

It is not necessary for me to detain your Lordship by a recapitulation of the language that I held to His Highness, which was precisely the same as that which I have already reported myself as having used to Nubar Pasha.

The Khedive also employed the same arguments as his Excellency respecting the public works required for the proper administration of the country, which could only be carried out by borrowed money.

He then repeated what he had said to Mr. Moore of his being ready to make the concession required of him by the Porte in regard to all loans but such as were made for the above-mentioned purpose, but he showed the utmost unwillingness to take any direct engagement with the Porte to that effect.

He considered that if he made to me and to the Representatives of the other Governments a formal declaration which should be communicated to the Sultan's Government, it would answer every purpose and save him from much embarrassment; his object evidently also being to give a ground for future European interference in case of new difficulties arising between himself and the Porte in reference to new loans.

I at once said that the suggestion could not be entertained, for it was certain not to be accepted by the Porte.

As matters now stood, the Sultan had made a distinct demand with respect to the loans, which His Highness had answered by a no less distinct refusal to comply with it; and it was not to be expected that, in the face of such a refusal, the Porte would be satisfied with a declaration made to either one or more of the foreign Representatives.

His proper course was voluntarily to communicate to the Sultan's Government the concession he was willing to make.

I could not, however, persuade His Highness to take that course.

I then said that the issue of a new Firman was inevitable, and the only thing left was for him to resolve to accept it in a becoming manner.

The Khedive seemed greatly disturbed at the prospect of the Firman, which he regarded as so serious a step as to render it difficult to reply to it in the conciliatory manner he wished; but if the Porte would consent so far to modify its intentions as to write an explanatory Vizirial letter instead of issuing an explanatory Firman, he would engage to answer it by an acquiescence in the demands respecting the loans, excepting those for public works.

He would, however, also expect that there should be nothing in it offensive to his personal dignity.

His Highness having earnestly begged me to use my endeavours to obtain this modification of the intentions of the Porte, the precise nature of the instrument to be issued did not appear a matter of such importance as to make it necessary for them to persist in the form to which the Viceroy so much objected, and I promised to write to Constantinople as he requested.

I consequently to Mr. Barron a copy of the telegram that I addressed to your Lordship, and I hope that your Lordship will approve of my having added to it, that I earnestly recommend it to the consideration of Aali Pasha.

Although not an entire compliance with the demands of the Porte, the concession now made by the Viceroy is a very important one, and might, I think, be fairly accepted by the Porte as a sufficient satisfaction.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 318.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received December 5.)

(No. D.)

My Lord, *Suez, November 20, 1869.*

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that the opening of the Suez Canal has been successfully and satisfactorily accomplished.

At Port Said there was a large collection of ships of all nations, including vessels of war from almost every navy; Her Majesty's iron-clad squadron, under Vice-Admiral Sir Alexander Milne, being conspicuous among them.

The Canal not being entirely finished is not practicable throughout for vessels of the size that will ultimately be able to pass, and none, I believe, with a draught of water greater than 22 feet attempted it.

The Empress of the French had shown a great desire that her yacht should lead the procession, and on that account the Viceroy left the evening before the formal opening in his small yacht, to wait Her Majesty's arrival at Ismaïla, half-way through the Canal, where it had been determined to pass a day.

The procession had been formed in the following order:—The Empress of the French, the Emperor of Austria, the Crown Prince of Russia, Prince Henry of the Netherlands, the Russian Ambassador, Her Majesty's Ambassador, and the Emperor of Austria's suite, to be followed by the numerous vessels of persons invited from other countries.

Ismaïla was reached about dark on the 17th. A large assembly of Arabs had been collected there, and the place offered a singular mixture of European and Egyptian life, a ball to several thousand of the former being given by the Viceroy in a palace that he has had constructed within the last four months.

Ismaïla was not left till the middle of the day on the 19th, and the ships of the procession anchored in the afternoon in the basin of the Bitter Lakes, which was very lately a sandy plain but is now a small inland sea, the first water having been let into it by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales at his visit to the Canal last spring.

The next day at noon we arrived at Suez, where Her Majesty's ships "Fort" and "Malabar" were lying, and which, in addition to the "Psyche," "Rapid," and "Newport," which two last vessels the Admiral had brought through the Canal, gave the appearance of a small British squadron.

Although the Canal is not yet in a state to be thoroughly available for traffic, the opening has been a complete success, and the persons most competent to judge seem unanimous in considering that this vast undertaking may now be regarded as triumphantly accomplished.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 319.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received December 5.)

(No. E. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Cairo, November 23, 1869.*

I HAVE this morning had some further conversation with the Viceroy.

I told him that since I had last had the honour of seeing him I had received letters from your Lordship, and that you could hardly believe that any serious difficulty would be found in coming to an understanding on the subject of the loans, as the French interpretation of the *status quo* had confined the discussion to the question between an official or unofficial request for the authorization of the Sultan.

The Viceroy appeared puzzled, and said he did not exactly know to what I was alluding.

I asked His Highness if he had not received from M. Tricou, the French Acting Consul-General, a communication stating that the word of the Sultan must not be called in question, and that the *status quo* was to be assumed as implying the necessity of an informal request for the Sultan's authorization.

It was not without surprise that I learnt from His Highness that no such communication had yet been made to him, and I can only assume that the instruction to M. Tricou was to be made dependent upon the acceptance by the Porte of the French suggestion.

I communicated to His Highness the substance of Mr. West's despatch No. 125 of the 4th instant, and of your Lordship's No. 157 of the 11th instant to Mr. West, stating

the views of the French Government upon this question, and it was clearly a severe shock to him to find that they so plainly agreed with your Lordship in holding that the Sultan's assertion was not to be questioned.

The proposal in itself seemed eminently distasteful to him.

He said, "It is assumed by the two Governments that I asked personally for the Sultan's sanction for the loan of 1868, and this is held to be the precedent by which I am to guide myself, or, in other words, I am expected to go in person to Constantinople every time I wish to make a loan. The process is a more objectionable one than that of making a direct application to the Porte."

I endeavoured to turn to account the impression made by these despatches, and again pressed him at once to write to Constantinople, voluntarily stating the concession he was prepared to make.

His Highness at length said he would do as I advised, but asked what grounds he could state for now consenting to what he had hitherto so absolutely refused.

I said that the proper way appeared to me to base his new letter upon the assurances he had received of there being no intention on the part of the Porte to limit his freedom of internal administration.

His Highness having then asked me if I would allow him to say that he had received these assurances of the disposition of the Porte from me, your Lordship will not disapprove of my having given my sanction to his doing so, in order to help him from a position of no small embarrassment.

He said he would direct a letter to the Grand Vizier to be drawn up and communicated to me by Nubar Pasha.

The delay of M. Tricou in making known to His Highness the views of his Government led His Highness to speak of the general attitude of the French Agents in Egypt in a manner that was little complimentary to them.

He intimated, very clearly, that they were in the habit of turning their official position to their own personal advantage.

He was constantly appealed to by them in matters affecting the interests of persons whom they protected, and was invariably obliged to settle them by the payment of a sum of money without regard to the justice of the case.

It was this state of things which he wished to put an end to by the establishment of an independent judicial system, but the French Agents seeing that however advantageous it might be for the public, the change would diminish both their influence and their profits, were extremely opposed to it.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 320.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received December 5.)

(No. G. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Cairo, November 24, 1869.*

NUBAR PASHA mentioned to me this morning that Count Beust had told him that I had spoken of the concession which the Viceroy was prepared to make to the Porte, and had expressed his approval of it, but had at the same time recommended him not to trust too much to Her Majesty's Government.

I am at a loss to know what his Excellency can have meant by this warning, unless he intended to intimate that the Viceroy was not to expect assistance from Great Britain, in the event of his present conciliatory step not being accepted at Constantinople.

I have, &c

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 321.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received December 5.)

(No. H.)

My Lord, *Cairo, November 25, 1869.*

NUBAR PASHA read to me yesterday the draft of the proposed letter from the Viceroy to the Grand Vizier.

It began by alluding to the assurances he had received from me that the Porte did

not intend to interfere with his administration of the country. He had thought, and he still continues to think, that the right of making loans was a part of the privileges that had been granted to him; but nevertheless, in order to give the Sultan a proof of his devotion, and of his desire to walk in the same order of ideas as the rest of the Empire, he makes a distinction between loans specially destined for the services of the Government, and those that are to be devoted for public works; and for the former he engages to apply for the authorisation of the Sultan.

In the first draft it was written to apply "verbally;" but on my putting it to Nubar Pasha whether it would not be in every way advisable to omit the word, he said he quite agreed with me, and passed his pen through it.

I next endeavoured to obtain a more important modification of the part of the letter which I have above quoted.

I represented that the object being to obtain the acceptance by the Porte of the concession which the Khedive was making, it was desirable to put it in the most attractive form. I therefore represented that instead of His Highness saying that he made no distinction between general and reproductive loans, he should confine himself to expressing a confident hope that the Porte would recognize that distinction, the public works being included within the internal administration that was entrusted to him.

Nubar Pasha could not promise me the Khedive's acceptance of this modification, but promised to submit it to him.

His Highness having left Cairo to accompany the Emperor of Austria to Alexandria, I shall not know till his return whether he consents to it or not.

I inclose a copy of the telegram which after this conversation I sent to Mr. Barron, directing him to urge the Porte not to issue the new Firman.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 321.

Mr. Elliot to Mr. Barron.

(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, November* 24, 1869.

TELL the Grand Vizier that I earnestly hope that the new Firman may not be issued.

The Viceroy will send a letter which ought, I consider, to give satisfaction to the Porte.

His Highness will engage not to make loans for the general service of the Government without the authorization of the Sultan, making a distinction between these and those required for public works, such as railways, canals, and roads, which come under the internal administration of the country.

Inform me by telegraph, *viâ* Malta, of the manner in which the Grand Vizier receives this communication.

No. 322.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received December 5.)

(No. K. Confidential.)
My Lord, *"Psyche," Suez Canal, November* 19, 1869.

UPON learning from the Khedive the concession he was prepared to make with reference to the loans, I called upon Count Beust and informed him of it, and said I proposed to recommend that the Porte should so far meet His Highness as to write a Vizieral letter instead of issuing a new Firman.

Count Beust said he entirely coincided with me in thinking that it was of no great importance which form of instrument might be adopted, and he should be glad if the Viceroy's proposal was deemed sufficient, although he could not but see that there would be no real guarantee for the loans nominally effected for reproductive purposes being actually so expended.

He spoke of the small interest which Austria had in Egypt, as compared to that of other Powers, whereas there was no country to which it is so important that the Turkish Empire should not be weakened. This Egyptian quarrel, therefore, did not affect her much, excepting inasmuch as it might lead to complications ending by fresh intervention on behalf of the Viceroy.

In the evening I met the Emperor, who spoke to me of the favourable disposition now shown by the Viceroy, and asked whether I did not consider that it refuted the projects attributed to him by the Porte.

I replied that I hoped the proposed concession might lead to a satisfactory result, but I was unable to say that it conveyed to me any conclusive opinion as to what his dreams may have been at the time of his journey through Europe.

He had met with nothing from the different Governments to encourage him to throw off his dependence upon the Sultan; but while I was quite unable to say whether he had ever entertained such a project or not, there were parts of his late conduct calculated to excite the suspicion of the Porte with regard to it.

His Imperial Majesty admitted that some of the proceedings of the Khedive had certainly been of a suspicious nature, and the ordering of the ships of war, and the invitations of foreign Sovereigns to Egypt without giving notice of it to the Sultan, was not to be defended.

The impression left upon me by these two conversations was, that Count Beust's leaning towards Turkey was more decided than that of the Emperor.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 323.

Colonel Stanton to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received December 5.)

(No. 106. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Cairo, November* 26, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatches Nos. 70, 71, and 75, transmitting for my information copies of despatches as noted in the margin,* respecting the differences between the Porte and the Viceroy.

Her Majesty's Ambassador will have informed your Lordship that the Egyptian Government asserts no such communication as that mentioned in Mr. West's despatch No. 125 as the instructions addressed to M. Tricon have been made to them by the French Consulate; and M. Tricon being at present absent from Cairo, I have not as yet been able to ascertain from him what steps he may have taken or intended taking in the matter, but the action of the French Consulate is probably no longer of much importance in this case, as Her Majesty's Ambassador has induced the Khedive to modify his pretensions to such a degree that hopes may now be entertained of a speedy settlement of the pending difficulty.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. STANTON.

No. 324.

M. Bourée to the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne.—(Communicated to the Earl of Clarendon by the Marquis de Lavalette, December 6.)

(Télégraphique.) *Péra, le* 2 *Décembre*, 1869.

VOICI le résumé du Firman que je vous ai envoyé hier. Il est rédigé sous la forme ordinaire et ne renferme rien de comminatoire. Rappel et acceptation des engagements pris par le Khédive relativement aux armes, aux bâtiments, et aux négociations. Volonté que les impôts soient proportionnés aux ressources des habitants, employés aux besoins réels du pays, et que sans une nécessité légitime et reconnue ils ne soient pas augmentés; ces deux importants objets sont recommandés au zèle incessant et aux soins du Vice-Roi. La phrase suivante est textuelle: "Les emprunts étrangers engageant pour de longues années les revenus du pays, je ne saurais admettre, sans que tous les détails des nécessités qui peuvent y faire recourir n'aient été soumis à mon Gouvernement, et sans que mon autorisation n'ait été préalablement obtenue, que des sommes prélevées sur les revenus de l'Egypte soient affectées au service d'un emprunt."

Server Effendi, porteur du Firman, est personnellement agréable au Vice-Roi.

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* Mr. West, No. 125; to Mr. West, No. 137; Mr. Elliot, No. 455; to Mr. West, No. 157: see *ante*, Nos. 239, 256, 257, and 267.

No. 325.

Aali Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Clarendon by Musurus Pasha, December 6.)

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le 5 Décembre*, 1869.

RECU télégramme spécial No. 126.

Veuillez renouveler à Lord Clarendon nos remercîments pour ses démarches amicales. Le Firman envoyé au Khidiv, et dont je vous ai transmis la traduction par le dernier courrier, contient seulement la question des emprunts.

No. 326.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received December 6.)

(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, December 6*, 1869.

FIRMAN begins by stating that, without interfering with the internal freedom of the Administration of Egypt, Sultan is bound to watch that the Administration fulfils its obligations to the people.

Explanations about the armaments and agents abroad are considered sufficient, and the question of the expenditure is not touched upon.

As all taxes are levied in the Sultan's name, it is contrary to his will that they should be increased without necessity; desires Viceroy to treat his subjects with justice in this respect.

As foreign loans mortgage revenue of the country, Viceroy is enjoined to communicate to the Porte the causes which may necessitate recourse to them, and without His Majesty's authorization these revenues must not be engaged.

Server Effendi is instructed to insist on unconditional acceptance of the Firman, but the Viceroy is not at present prepared to consent to it.

No. 327.

The Earl of Clarendon to Lord Lyons.

(No. 938.)

My Lord, *Foreign Office, December 7*, 1869.

I HAVE received your despatch No. 1,024 of the 3rd instant, reporting what had passed between you and the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne on your communicating to his Excellency my despatch No. 316 of the 27th ultimo, with reference to the question of the Firman to be issued by the Sultan to the Khedive, and the course to be pursued by England and France at the present moment; and I have to state to you that Her Majesty's Government entirely approve your proceedings as reported in your despatch.

I am, &c.

(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 328.

Memorandum communicated to the Earl of Clarendon by the Marquis de Lavalette, December 8, 1869.

(Confidentiel.)

DANS une dépêche adressée le 31 Octobre au Gérant du Consulat-Général de France en Egypte, le Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, après avoir rappelé le regret avec lequel le Gouvernement de l'Empereur a vu s'élever le différend pendant entre le Khédive et la Porte, exprime le vœu que ce conflit ne prenne pas des proportions plus sérieuses. Le Gouvernement Impérial désire assurément le bien du Vice-Roi et la prospérité de l'Egypte, mais il veut aussi le maintien de la tranquillité en Orient, et fait appel à la sagesse du Vice-Roi, convaincu que la contestation ne saurait se prolonger sans danger et que le seul moyen d'arriver à un accord est de prendre en sérieuse considération le langage tenu par le Sultan lui-même dans l'affaire des emprunts. En effet, la parole du Souverain est en cause et sa dignité personnelle engagée. En refusant d'en tenir compte, le Khédive donnerait au différend le plus fâcheux caractère.

Le nœud de la difficulté, aux yeux du Gouvernement de l'Empereur, paraît être dans

la question de savoir ce qu'il serait possible au Vice-Roi de faire pour mettre hors de cause la dignité du Sultan. Sa Hautesse n'a pas soutenu que l'autorisation de contracter l'emprunt de 1868 eût été demandée par le Vice-Roi dans la forme employée jusqu'alors. La communication a été simplement verbale et officieuse. Le Vice-Roi ne pourrait-il par dès lors déclarer que, puisant avant tout ses résolutions dans son respect pour la personne du Sultan, il consent à lui prouver sa déférence en prenant l'affirmation de Sa Majesté comme le véritable commentaire du Firman de 1867? Il s'engagerait à demander à l'avenir, dans la même forme purement officieuse, l'autorisation de conclure les nouveaux emprunts.

Cette combinaison paraît acceptable au Gouvernement de l'Empereur comme au Cabinet de Londres. En cas de refus, les dispositions de la Porte sont telles qu'il deviendrait impossible d'empêcher la mise à exécution des mesures extrêmes qu'elle menace de prendre. Les conséquences en seraient très graves pour le Khédive, qui ne saurait sagement affronter une pareille éventualité. Si au contraire il adopte la combinaison indiquée, il ferait disparaître la seule difficulté sérieuse qui retarde le rétablissement de la bonne intelligence entre la Porte et lui.

M. Tricon est invité à présenter ces considérations au Vice-Roi, et à insister, dans les termes les plus amicaux, pour lui en faire comprendre toute l'importance. Il devra ajouter que l'Ambassadeur de l'Empereur à Constantinople est chargé de préparer les Ministres du Sultan à cette transaction, et que si le Vice-Roi y adhère, le Gouvernement de l'Empereur ne négligera aucun effort pour qu'elle ait aussi l'assentiment de la Porte.

No. 329.

Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne to M. Tricon.—(Communicated to the Earl of Clarendon by the Marquis de Lavalette, December 8.)

(Confidentiel.)

(Télégraphique.) *Le 7 Décembre*, 1869.

IL résulte d'une conversation de Nubar Pacha avec Mr. Elliot que jusqu'à la date du 26 Novembre vous n'aviez encore rien dit au Khédive qui pût lui faire supposer que nous considérions la déclaration du Sultan au sujet de l'emprunt de 1868 comme devant être prise en sérieuse considération. Le Vice-Roi justifierait ses hésitations en alléguant le silence que vous avez gardé, et le Gouvernement Anglais regrette que nous ayons ainsi différé de tenir le langage sur lequel nous étions tombé d'accord. Faites en sorte qu'il ne subsiste aucun doute dans l'esprit du Vice-Roi ni sur la nature des conseils que vous êtes chargé de donner, ni sur notre entente avec l'Angleterre.

No. 330.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received December 8.)

(Telegraphic.) *Paris, December 7, 1869, midnight.*

FRENCH Agent in Egypt telegraphs that Viceroy has accepted the Firman and ordered it to be publicly read.

No. 331.

Mr. Lytton to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received December 9.)

(Telegraphic.) *Vienna, December 9*, 1869.

BARON BEUST has just shown me a telegram received this morning from Austrian Consul-General in Egypt, stating that Viceroy has accepted without reservation the Firman, and will immediately cause the same to be published in Egypt.

No. 332.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 388.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, December* 9, 1869.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch, marked A, of the 16th instant, reporting your conversation with Nubar Pasha upon your arrival at Port Said; and I have to acquaint you that I entirely approve your language on that occasion.

I am, &c.

(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 333.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 389.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, December* 9, 1869.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch, marked C, of the 18th ultimo reporting your conversation with the Viceroy upon the subject of his wish for the issue of a Vizirial letter instead of a new Firman; and I have to acquaint your Excellency that I entirely approve your language on that occasion.

I am, &c.

(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 334.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 390. Confidential.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, December* 9, 1869.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch, marked E, of the 23rd ultimo, reporting the substance of your conversation with the Viceroy respecting the French interpretation of the *status quo*; and I have to state to your Excellency that I approve your language on that occasion.

I am, &c.

(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 335.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 391.)

My Lord, *Foreign Office, December* 9, 1869.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch, marked H, of the 25th ultimo, reporting your conversation with Nubar Pasha upon the Viceroy's proposed letter to the Grand Vizier; and I have to acquaint you that I approve of your language on that occasion.

I am, &c.

(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 336.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 392. Confidential.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, December* 9, 1869.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch, marked K, Confidential, reporting conversations with Count Beust and the Emperor of Austria upon the subject of the concession which the Viceroy stated he was prepared to make on the subject of the loans, and your recommendation that the Porte should write a Vizirial letter instead of issuing a new Firman; and I have to acquaint your Excellency that I approve your language on those occasions.

I am, &c.

(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 337.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received December* 9.)

(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, December* 9, 1869.

THE Firman has been read with all honours under the salute of the guns of the citadel. I leave at once for England.

No. 338.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received December* 10.)

(No. 485. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, November* 4, 1869.

THE Austrian Ambassador mentioned to me to-day, in confidential conversation, that during his stay here Count Beust had observed to him that he fully entered into and understood the necessity for the Porte of checking the Viceroy in the contraction of loans, so as to prevent an important portion of the Empire from being mortgaged to an unlimited extent.

But although he felt this, he was, he said, obliged to remember that the support of the Viceroy was a caprice in which France chose to indulge, and the necessity to Austria of keeping upon good terms with her had to form a chief element in his own policy.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 339.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received December* 10.)

(No. 486. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, November* 4, 1869.

I OBSERVED this afternoon to the Italian Minister, with whom I have long been on an intimate footing, that it had reached me from various quarters that the Viceroy of Egypt had been greatly encouraged in his resistance to the Sultan by the knowledge of being supported by the Italian Government.

Count Barbolani said that he could not deny that there might be grounds for the supposition, although he did not believe it to be correct as far as his Government itself was concerned.

Unfortunately, however, there had constantly been two distinct policies pursued by Italy, the one being directed by the Government and the other by the Court, and this was particularly the case as regards Egypt, where it was very possible the Viceroy had been assured of the sympathy, if not support, of his Sovereign.

I remarked that the Viceroy was pretty well known to have paid agents of his own among the persons attached to several of the European Courts, and perhaps this was the case at Florence as elsewhere.

My colleague said he wished he could feel any confidence that it was not so. He had, at all events, gathered from Prince Amadeus during his visit here, that he had been charged by the King himself to convey to the Viceroy His Majesty's opinions and views upon the present position of affairs, but whether these are in strict conformity with his Ministers' Count Barbolani is unable to say.

I need hardly request that Count Barbolani's remarks may be regarded as most confidential.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 340.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received December 10.)

(No. 491. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, November 7, 1869.*

THE indignation shown by Aali Pasha at the course pursued by the French Government in the matter of the Egyptian difficulty is extreme.

What is occurring now, he said to me to-day, is but a repetition of the conduct which Turkey has experienced from France upon various other occasions.

The position of the Danubian Principalities, which are gradually acquiring their independence, and will, at some not distant day, throw off their allegiance altogether, is solely the work of France, which is now pursuing a similar course in Egypt.

He did not believe that the French Government wished to see the Khedive proclaim his independence; but what they desired, and what they were successfully doing, was so to weaken the authority and prestige of the Sultan as to leave Egypt under the absolute influence and direction of France. Turkey had suffered enough already from the deference or subserviency she had shown to the requirements of France; but there were limits beyond which it was impossible to go, and he at least would not be the man to consent to it.

The present difficulties with Egypt were entirely of French creation; for no one who knew anything of the question could fail to be aware that, if the Emperor's Government had abstained from mixing itself up in the question, the whole business would have been settled in a week. The Viceroy from the beginning had felt confident, and unfortunately with too good reason, of the support of France, and it was this alone which had induced him to resist the demands of the Sultan.

The French Government did not attempt to justify the attitude which had been assumed by the Viceroy: they admitted, on the contrary, that it had been inexcusable, but this did not at all prevent them from stepping in to prevent the Sultan from taking any measures for the vindication of his legitimate authority.

I endeavoured to turn to account the Grand Vizier's remarks upon the countenance the Khedive had received from France, and I observed that, if he was thoroughly convinced of it as he appeared, it would only be another argument in favour of acting with so much prudence as to avoid the conflict which would otherwise occur, in which the Viceroy might receive a support against which the Porte would not be able to contend. Aali Pasha saw the full danger of the position, but he believed it might be necessary to risk it rather than to submit to the humiliation of giving way before the refusal of a subject of the Sultan's to yield to a demand which every one in Turkey held His Majesty to be fully justified in making.

If it pleased the Viceroy to obtain a verbal sanction for his future loans no difficulties would be placed in his way, but if the French Government meant that His Highness was to be exempted from the necessity of formally asking for it, it would amount to the abandonment of the principle that had been contended for, and to the humiliation of the Sultan in the eyes of his people.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 341.

Mr. Barron to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received December 10.)

(No. 507.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, November 25, 1869.*

ON the 23rd instant I received from Mr. Elliot instructions to lay before the Grand Vizier, and strongly to recommend, certain overtures of the Khedive of Egypt, distinguishing between loans to be contracted by him for "general purposes," for which he consented to await the sanction of his Sovereign, and those intended for public works, which latter he considered himself entitled to contract under his privilege of "internal administration."

On behalf of Her Majesty's Ambassador I immediately urged on Aali Pasha to accept this concession, and to relinquish, or at least to suspend, the issue of the explanatory Firman.

His Highness, however, declares that the Porte cannot entertain this distinction, or allow the revenues of Egypt to be mortgaged for any purpose whatever, without the special sanction of the Sultan. The Council of Ministers held yesterday had unanimously agreed to this decision.

The Sultan and his Council have resolved to issue this Firman without further delay. I see no hope of averting, and slight hope of delaying, its promulgation. Aali Pasha will, however, speak to the Sultan with a view to postponing it for a few days, but doubts of success.

I have informed Mr. Elliot by telegraph of this reply.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BARRON.

No. 342.

Mr. Barron to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received December 10.)

(No. 509. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, December 1, 1869.*

I HAVE had the honour to report by telegraph the dispatch of the explanatory Firman to Egypt.

The bearer of it is Server Effendi, Prefect of Constantinople, who has already been employed thrice previously on similar missions to Egypt. He is conveyed on the Government vessel "Madié Zafer."

I have as yet endeavoured in vain to obtain a translation of this document. It is described to me by Aali Pasha as a recapitulation in a more formal shape of the demands enumerated in the Grand Vizier's letters of 31st July and 29th August, taking note of some as being satisfactorily disposed of by the Khedive's letters; reserving, however, two points which require to be defined, viz., the powers of the Khedive to contract new loans and impose new taxes. It explicitly subjects the exercise of these powers to the previous sanction of the Sovereign. It is described as containing nothing menacing or humiliating.

The demands conveyed in Aali Pasha's last letter, written by order of the Sultan, bore upon—

1. The abandonment of the 200,000 needle muskets, or of such of them as were superfluous for an army restricted to 30,000 men.

2. The abandonment of certain iron-clads being constructed at Trieste and in France.

3. The annual submission to the Porte of the budgets of revenue and expenditure.

4. The necessity for loans to be previously sanctioned by the Sovereign.

5. Employment of the Imperial representatives as a medium of negotiation by by Egyptian agents at foreign Courts.

6. The ill-treatment of Mussulman pilgrims in Egypt.

The points now at issue are the third and fourth. The Porte would seem to have waived something of its original demand under the third head, and instead of demanding the annual submission of the budget, to content itself with claiming that no new taxes shall be imposed without its sanction. This is a stipulation which, even if conceded, offers little real security, as it could be easily evaded and with difficulty enforced. In either form it seems to be, though reasonable, a departure from the *status quo*. It will, of course, be objected to by the Khedive as constituting a breach of his privilege of "internal administration" granted to him by the Porte. It must, however, be acknowledged that, as the Firman of 1867 is not an international or a bilateral act, but a privilege accorded graciously and gratuitously by a Sovereign to a subject, that Sovereign would seem to be the only authority competent to interpret and even to modify the privilege so accorded.

On the fourth point still less difficulty or doubt exists. For loans contracted previously to 1867 the sovereign sanction has been uniformly asked for and accorded. It is contended that the Firman of 1867 altered this condition, by giving the right of "internal administration." If this be so, it must be admitted that the latter is a very elastic term. It was not, I believe, the intention of the Porte to sign away so lightly such an important power. That such a construction was not placed upon the Firman originally by the Khedive himself is proved by the Sultan's affirmation of His Majesty's consent having been asked and granted to the Egyptian Loan of 1868. The policy of this Government has been more just and moderate than skilful. I have shown above that the third point, as a substantial guarantee, must be vain and inoperative. On the fourth point the Porte is entirely master of the situation, with or without the assent of the

Khedive, as it is obvious that a public declaration of the Sultan's will on this point must legally and practically bar any future loans of the Khedive from being chargeable on the revenues of Egypt. But by the course now adopted, the Porte risks losing the substance of the first and second points for the shadow of the third and fourth.

The fact is that the question is now resolved into a very narrow compass, and ought to be easy of solution, but for the self-love of both parties. It must be admitted that the Khedive has shown a studied disrespect to his Sovereign through all the proceedings connected with the opening of the Canal, never having once notified this important fact, either before or after its occurrence. There is no doubt but that the Sultan and all his councillors are agreed on the necessity of administering a lesson to their functionary, no less for his affectation of than for his efforts towards independence.

The course now taken must precipitate a solution, by inducing a surrender of the Khedive's pretensions, or by yet further widening the breach. It is therefore more than ever urgent, in my humble opinion, that he should be counselled to yield, and taught not to expect foreign support, in case of his further resistance.

I have, &c.
(Sigeed) H. BARRON.

P.S.—Having received at the last moment a translation of the Firman, I beg to transmit the same herewith.

H. B.

Inclosure in No. 342.

Firman addressed to the Viceroy of Egypt, November 20, 1869.

(Traduction.)
Après les titres d'usage.)

Il est superflu de dire combien ma sollicitude est grande pour la prospérité de l'importante Province d'Egypte, et pour l'accroissement du bien-être et de la sécurité de ses habitants. Tout en consacrant une attention sérieuse au maintien intact des priviléges intérieurs accordés à l'Administration Egyptienne, il est de mon devoir de surveiller en même temps le strict accomplissement des obligations de cette administration, soit envers ma Couronne, soit envers les habitants de la province.

En conséquence, j'ai accepté les éclaircissements que tu as donnés et les engagements que tu as pris relativement aux armes et aux bâtiments de guerre, ainsi qu'à l'égard des relations extérieures de la province, par la lettre que tu as écrite, sous la date du 10 Djémazi-ul-Ewel, 1286, en réponse à celle que mon Grand Vizir t'avait adressé, par mon ordre souverain, le 18 Rébi-ul-Akhir, 1286.

Seulement la question financière étant un point vital pour tous les pays, si la quotité des impôts est supérieure aux moyens des contribuables, ou si les produits de ces impôts, au lieu d'être affectés aux besoins réels du pays, sont absorbés par des dépenses infructueuses, on s'expose incontestablement à des pertes et à des dangers incalculables.

Il en résulte pour le Souverain du pays le droit sacré et imprescriptible de surveiller avec sollicitude cet important objet; et, pour qu'il ne subsiste plus aucun doute ni malentendu à cet égard, j'ai décidé de te donner les éclaircissements suivants, qui seront également portés à la connaissance de tous. Ainsi, suivant les conditions fondamentales qui servent de base à l'Administration Egyptienne, tous les impôts et redevances doivent être répartis et perçus en mon nom. Je ne saurais donc consentir en aucune manière à ce que les sommes provenant de ces impôts soient employées autrement qu'aux besoins réels du pays, et à ce que les habitants soient chargés de nouveaux impôts sans une nécessité légitime et reconnue. Ma volonté absolue est donc que tes soins et ton zèle les plus incessants soient dirigés vers ces deux importants objets, aussi bien que sur la nécessité que mes sujets d'Égypte soient toujours traités avec justice et équité.

De même, les emprunts à l'étranger engageant pour de longues années les revenus du pays, je ne saurais admettre que, sans que tous les détails des raisons qui peuvent y faire recourir n'aient été soumis à mon Gouvernement Impérial, et sans que mon autorisation n'ait été préalablement obtenue, des sommes prélevées sur les revenus de l'Egypte soient affectées au service d'un emprunt.

Ma volonté est donc qu'en aucun temps il ne soit fait d'emprunt qu'après que la nécessité absolue d'y avoir recours sera bien établie, et mon autorisation préalable obtenue.

Tu conformeras désormais tes actes et ta conduite aux termes formels de mon présent Firman Impérial, qui est en tout point conforme aux droits et aux devoirs respectifs, ainsi qu'aux précédents.

Le 22 Chaban, 1286.

No. 343.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received December 10.)

(No. 1,038.) *Paris, December 9, 1869.*
My Lord,

THE Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne read to me last night a telegram which he had just received from M. Tricon, the French Agent and Consul-General in Egypt. It stated that in consequence of the advice urged upon the Khedive by the French and British Agents, supported by Sir Henry Elliot, the British Ambassador, His Highness had consented to accept the Sultan's Firman, and that it was to be read in the usual solemn manner.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 344.

The Earl of Clarendon to Colonel Stanton.

(No. 79.) *Foreign Office, December 10, 1869.*
Sir,

I TRANSMIT to you, for your information, a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, respecting the relations between the Porte and Khedive.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 345.

Mr. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received December 13.)

(No. 507.) *Cairo, November 28, 1869.*
My Lord,

I RECEIVED yesterday a telegram from Mr. Barron informing me that the Porte was resolved upon issuing the explanatory Firman; and Nubar Pasha called this morning to say that he had received a similar announcement with the addition of an assurance that it was to be sent by Husni Pasha to the Minister of Police.

I told him I was not greatly surprised at the intimation which had reached us, for although I had been willing to do what I could to induce the Porte to regard the concession of the Viceroy as sufficient, it had been made so late that I had always doubted of its success.

What now remained was to ensure a proper reception for the new Firman, for upon that would chiefly depend whether the whole question should come to an end or should assume a still more formidable character.

Nubar Pasha said that the Khedive was in a state of violent irritation at the rejection of his overture, but, speaking for himself, he could almost promise that the Firman should be becomingly received if the Porte did not send it down with any unusual solemnity, such as making one of the Sultan's Ministers the bearer of it. Such a course had never before been followed, and he earnestly begged me to try to prevent it now being adopted.

I consequently sent to Mr. Barron the telegram of which I have the honour to inclose a copy.

Nubar Pasha asked me if I would not see the Viceroy in the hopes of calming him and of persuading him to receive the Sultan's Firman becomingly.

I said that of course I would do so if he thought I would be of any service, but that I believed it might be better to let the first ebullition of His Highness' wrath pass away.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 345.

Mr. Elliot to Mr. Barron.

(Telegraphic.) *Cairo, November 27*, 1869.

THE Egyptian Government are informed that the Porte proposes to send the new Firman by Husni Pasha, the Minister of Police.

The manner in which it will be received depends greatly upon no unusual formality being attached to it; and as it has not been usual to send persons of such high rank upon these occasions, it is very desirable that they should entrust it to some one of the customary rank.

No. 346.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received December 13.)

(No. 309.)

My Lord, *Cairo, December 2*, 1869.

AS I have already informed your Lordship, the anger of the Khedive on learning that the Porte persisted in issuing a new Firman was very great, and he at first talked of refusing to accept it.

I did not see His Highness till he had had time to reflect upon the consequences of taking an extreme course, and I then found him disposed to listen to the advice which I pressed upon him, of avoiding everything which would tend to place him in a position of open defiance of the Sultan, and oblige the Porte to take still more serious steps.

His Highness has promised me that, if the Firman is conceived in terms which make it possible for him to do so, he will receive it with every mark of respect, and that any reserves or remarks which may appear indispensable shall be made in a letter to the Grand Vizier.

Before I left Constantinople I understood Aali Pasha to have consented to confine the proposed Firman to the question of the loans, treating the other points as arranged by the explanations already exchanged; and if he adheres to this course, I believe I may with confidence affirm that the Firman will be received in a manner that will remove all cause of anxiety.

If, on the other hand, the Porte shall have returned to its original project of endeavouring to prove from the Firman of 1841, and from those which have since been granted, that the position of the Khedive differs from that of the ordinary Pasha of a Province only in being hereditary, it will be no easy matter to prevent His Highness from summarily declining to receive a Firman conceived in such terms.

While this state of uncertainty continued I was unwilling to leave Egypt, and I resolved upon remaining here till it is set at rest by the arrival of the Firman, which is expected within the next two days.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 347.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received December 13.)

(No. 310.)

My Lord, *Cairo, December 2*, 1869.

THE Egyptian Government have just given a practical proof of the absolute unimportance of the distinction they were so anxious to establish between general loans and loans for public works, by the signature of the agreement for the construction of the port of Alexandria.

Neither the obligation under which the Khedive lies not to contract a new loan for four years, nor the state of his relations with the Porte, has in the smallest degree interfered with his concluding an arrangement which in point of fact amounts to the contraction of a loan of about 2,250,000*l.* sterling.

I have pointed this out to Nubar Pasha, and he very fairly admits that the proposed distinction was more for the purpose of saving the *amour propre* of the Khedive than of any real importance.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 348.

Aali Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Clarendon by Musurus Pasha, December 14.)

M. l'Ambassadeur, *Le 1 Décembre*, 1869.

APRES un silence de plus de deux mois, le Khidiv m'a adressé une lettre dont je vous transmets ci-joint, pour votre information, la traduction.

Ainsi que vous le relèverez de la lecture de cette pièce, Son Altesse persiste dans son refus d'obtempérer aux justes demandes de la Sublime Porte. Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan vient donc de lui envoyer, par l'entremise de son Excellence Server Effendi, un Firman que je vous envoie également ci-joint en traduction. Ce Firman, conforme aux droits et aux devoirs respectifs, ne contient que les conditions fondamentales de l'Administration actuelle de l'Egypte.

Je dois vous faire observer, M. l'Ambassadeur, que le Khidiv ayant cherché dans sa dernière lettre à modifier les assurances qu'il nous avait données précédemment par rapport aux délégués Egyptiens qui seraient envoyés auprès des Gouvernements étrangers, le Firman Impérial s'est borné à prendre acte des engagements pris à cet égard par Son Altesse dans sa lettre du 10 Djémazi-ul-Ewel.

Veuillez, &c.

(Signé) AALI.

Inclosure 1 in No. 348.

The Viceroy of Egypt to Aali Pasha.

(Traduction.) *Le 27 Réjeb*, 1286 (2 *Novembre*, 1869.)

PAR la communication de Son Excellence M. l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté Britannique à Constantinople, adressée à l'Agent de l'Angleterre en Egypte, et dont celui-ci m'a donné connaissance, j'ai compris la véritable pensée de votre Altesse au sujet des agents que je pourrais envoyer en Europe à l'effet de négocier les arrangements spéciaux que j'aurais à conclure, dans les limites du Firman de priviléges, avec les Puissances Européennes. Désirant que votre Altesse prenne connaissance de cette pièce, je la transmets à mon Capou-Kéhaya avec invitation de la placer sous vos yeux, si votre Altesse veut bien le permettre.

Il résulte de cette communication, en ce qui touche la question des Agents Egyptiens envoyés avec mission de conclure des arrangements spéciaux, que la pensée de la Sublime Porte se résume à se contenter seulement que ces Agents soient d'abord présentés une fois aux Ministres des Affaires Etrangères par les Représentants de la Sublime Porte, sans ingérence de ceux-ci dans la mission des premiers.

Bien que depuis le Firman de 1284 les Agents Egyptiens se présentent eux-mêmes aux Ministres des Affaires Etrangères sans intermédiaire, je m'empresse, pour faire preuve de mon entier attachement à l'auguste personne de Sa Majesté, et de mon désir de me conformer aux intentions de son Gouvernement, d'accepter la teneur de la susdite communication, et de m'y conformer; et, Dieu le sait, je ne puis assez témoigner à votre Altesse ma gratitude de ce qu'elle a bien voulu élucider ainsi ce point. En outre, ayant reçu de personnes dignes de toute confiance une nouvelle relative à la non-présentation du budget, j'aime à espérer que cette nouvelle est exacte et certaine. D'ailleurs, votre Altesse ayant daigné me donner l'heureuse assurance que Sa Majesté était dans la volonté de maintenir et de conserver les priviléges successivement accordés à l'Egypte par des Firmans Impériaux depuis 1241, mon espoir se consolide et se convertit en certitude.

Il reste maintenant un seul point: celui de l'autorisation des emprunts. J'ai la ferme confiance que celui-ci sera également résolue par le recours aux termes formels des Firmans Impériaux avec la haute équité de votre Altesse, reconnue du monde entier. En effet, si l'on considère attentivement ce point, comme la subordination mirait à toutes affaires, petites ou grandes, de la province Egyptienne, dont l'administration m'a été confiée par la bienveillance seule de Sa Majesté, il est évident que le Firman de priviléges accordé en dernier lieu à l'Egypte serait alors sans valeur.

Si la chose n'eût pas été ainsi je n'eusse pas eu d'autre devoir, je le sais, que de me soumettre à une simple indication de votre Altesse. Ayant la confiance que toutes les communications de votre Altesse ont été inspirées par la plus parfaite sincérité et la plus entière pureté d'intentions, je viens, de mon côté, vous parler en toute confiance et sincérité.

M'appuyant sur l'heureuse assurance que Sa Majesté ne voudra même pas amoindrir

les priviléges accordés par la munificence Impériale, comme aussi sur la parfaite équité et la haute sagesse qui distinguent si éminemment votre Altesse, j'espère qu'en acceptant aussi ce point de la façon exposée ci-dessus, elle daignera employer ses bons offices pour faire accroître en ma faveur la haute et féconde bienveillance de Sa Majesté, plus précieuse pour moi que le monde entier et tout ce qu'il renferme.

Inclosure 2 in No. 348.

Firman addressed to the Viceroy of Egypt, November 26, 1869.

[See Inclosure in No. 342.]

No. 349.

Aali Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(Communicated to the Earl of Clarendon by Musurus Pasha, December 14.)

(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le 12 Décembre*, 1869.

NOUS venons de recevoir de la part de Server Effendi la confirmation de la nouvelle que vous nous donnez par votre télégramme du 10.

Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan vous charge d'exprimer à Lord Clarendon ses sincères remercîments pour la part importante qu'il a bien voulu prendre à l'arrangement satisfaisant de cette affaire. Nous sommes heureux de constater une nouvelle preuve de la politique traditionnelle de l'Angleterre envers la Turquie.

No. 350.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 401.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, December 15, 1869.*

I HAVE received your despatches No. 507 of the 28th ultimo, and No. 509 of the 2nd instant, relating to the difficulty with regard to the reception of the new Firman by the Khédive, and I have to state to you that I approve your proceedings as reported in those despatches.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 351.

Mr. Barron to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received December 17.)

(No. 514. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, December 8, 1869.*

I HAVE had the honour to receive from your Lordship telegraphic instructions dated the 30th ultimo, to inform the Grand Vizier that, if the explanatory Firman goes beyond the question of loans, the Porte would, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, incur the responsibility of a conflict which circumstances would no longer justify, and that your Lordship attaches great importance to this point.

Though the Firman had already been despatched on the 29th ultimo, as reported in my No. 509 of the 1st instant, I still considered it my duty to inform Aali Pasha of these views of Her Majesty's Government without delay.

His Highness replied that if there were any responsibility it rested entirely with the Viceroy of Egypt, who was the sole provoker of the present difference; that if a conflict should arise the Porte could not be held responsible for it, as it had throughout shown moderation and forbearance beyond all limits, whereas on the other side the Khedive had done all that he could to provoke the adoption of extreme measures; that the decision of the question had now passed out of his own hands; that the Sultan, his Ministers and people, were fully determined to uphold the rights of the Sovereign, if the Khedive refused submission to the sole imperative condition contained in the Firman.

It is important to have obtained from his Highness this admission that the Firman

contains only one imperative condition, viz., the prohibition of new loans, and not two, as is generally understood.

The text of the Firman being ambiguous, I particularly questioned Aali Pasha on this point, and was distinctly assured by him that the first point, the prohibition of new taxes, was indeed an imperative order, but, from the qualification employed, could not be considered as a condition imposed; that, on the other hand, the prohibition of charging the country with new loans without previous sanction was not only an absolute order, but that a formal submission of the Khedive to the same would be insisted upon as a *sine qua non*.

Your Lordship's instruction of the 3rd instant to request an official communication of the explanatory Firman has been duly acted upon. Aali Pasha in reply informed me that, however anxious he was to defer to your Lordship's wishes, he could not see any ground for an official communication of this document, which was purely an act of internal administration; and that he would send by telegraph, through Musurus Pasha, further explanations, which he was sure would prove satisfactory to your Lordship.

The translation which I sent on the 1st instant may be considered official, having been communicated to me, though not officially, by the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BARRON.

No. 352.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received December 19.)

(No. 513.)

My Lord, *Cairo, December 5, 1869.*

IT will be within your Lordship's recollection that among various incidents which, trifling in themselves, contributed to rouse the suspicions of the Porte with regard to the Viceroy's intentions, was the placing of a board with the words "Royal Egyptian Post," over the Egyptian Post Office at Constantinople.

The circumstance was explained as having been the result of a blunder of the Egyptian post-master at Constantinople, and is scarcely worth reverting to; but I may remark, that since I have been at Cairo I have seen enough to convince me that the assumption of the regal title on that occasion was not accidental, for the same inscription is at this moment to be found upon the cast-iron letter boxes in various quarters of the town.

Similar inscriptions were also, I understand, hung up at the different railway stations, but an order was subsequently given to substitute Vice-Regal for the word Royal.

It is not altogether surprising, that the Turks should point to such acts as these as indications of a disposition on the part of the Khedive to usurp the prerogative of his Sovereign.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 353.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received December 19.)

(No. 514.)

My Lord, *Cairo, December 6, 1869.*

SERVER EFFENDI arrived here on the 3rd instant, bearing the Sultan's Firman, of which, as I learn from Mr. Barron, a copy has already been transmitted to your Lordship from Constantinople.

Previous to its arrival I had used every endeavour to insure it a proper reception from the Khedive, but His Highness in his answers to me had confined himself to stating that he must know its contents before he could say how he should act.

To others he was not so reserved, and talked of rejecting it, and of the armaments which he had already ordered to be carried out.

He had received information from one of his Agents at Constantinople that the Firman was conceived in objectionable terms, and included a demand for the presentation to the Porte of the Egyptian Budget, and this had roused his indignation to such an extent as to convince me that unless the instrument proved far more moderate than it had been represented, there would not be the slightest prospect of his receiving it in a becoming manner.

It was, therefore, with no small satisfaction, that upon Server Effendi's arrival I found that the Porte had so faithfully adhered to the line which, previous to my leaving Constantinople, I had announced to your Lordship as that which they intended to follow.

When after commencing with what amounts to a confirmation of the privileges previously granted to the Viceroy,—and speaking of the three first demands of the Porte only as being settled by the explanations already exchanged, the new Firman was seen not to allude to the question of the budget (while referring to the Viceroy himself, the care of seeing that the taxes did not press too heavily on the Egyptian people), and was strictly confined to the one point in reference to the foreign loans, there seemed reason to expect that His Highness would without hesitation, consent to receive it in the accustomed manner and with the usual expressions of obedience.

Such, however, has unfortunately been far from the course which His Highness has thought proper to pursue, and in his very first interview with Server Effendi, he not only indicated reserves which he should be obliged to make, but went so far as to allude to the armament, and to the preparations for resistance that he was already carrying on.

I have warned the Viceroy in the plainest language that could be employed of the danger that he was provoking.

The Sultan's Firman could not fail of being everywhere regarded as temperate and moderate in its tone as was compatible with the assertion of a right which no one but his Highness disputes. It had been entrusted to a person supposed to be favourably regarded in Egypt, and who came, as he assured me, with instructions to avoid every cause for irritation, and to execute his mission with all the conciliation possible.

How had His Highness met this? By speaking of reserves to be made; by intimating, if not clearly saying, that although he might accept he would not obey the Firman, and by alluding to armaments and preparations for war.

If the affair should take a more serious turn it would not be forgotten that it was he who had spoken the first words of defiance and of menace, and he need not expect any Government to stand between him and the consequences which he would so unnecessarily call down upon himself.

I cannot say that my representations have been altogether without effect, although up to the present time they have been far from inducing His Highness to consent to the unconditional acceptance of the Firman that is necessary.

He engages to receive the Firman in due form, causing it to be read in the presence of Server Effendi, of the Council of Regency and of the Ulemas, under a salute from the guns of the Citadel, but he not only declines to state that he will obey it, but even insists upon recording certain reserves in a letter to the Grand Vizier.

It was evidently impossible for Server Effendi to consent to deliver the Firman if it was merely to be received with a mock ceremonial, accompanied by an intimation that it would only be partially obeyed; and, in consequence of the representations that have been made, the Viceroy has consented greatly to modify the reserves which he proposes to insert into his letter to the Grand Vizir, but he still resolutely continues to refuse to intimate his intention of obeying the Firman.

His persistance in this resolution will be regarded by Server Effendi as tantamount to a refusal to it.

In a long conversation which I had yesterday with the Khedive I gave him to understand that it was chiefly in consequence of the influence exerted by Her Majesty's Government that the Porte had consented to confine itself to the explanatory Firman in its present moderate shape; and I represented that it would be but a poor return for the efforts that had been made in his interests if he were to take a course which must lead to the greatest inconvenience to every country, although injurious to none to the same extent as it would prove to himself.

The Viceroy expressed his acknowledgments for the interest which had been shown by Her Majesty's Government, but repeated that he could not receive the Firman in such a way as to imply his unconditional acceptance of it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 354.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received December* 19.)

(No. 515.) *Cairo, December* 8, 1869.

My Lord,

SERVER EFFENDI called upon me yesterday, saying that he was in a position of considerable embarrassment, and wished to have my opinion with regard to it.

He had again seen the Viceroy, who had greatly modified his original tone, and who very evidently wished to throw upon him the responsibility of the non-acceptance of the Firman.

His Highness now retracted the reserves which upon their first interview he had declared he must put upon the Firman, stating that he had been wrong in making them, and wished the expressions to be regarded as recalled.

While saying this, however, the Khedive refused to agree to state in his letter to the Grand Vizier that he accepted the Firman as it stood, and persisted on announcing in it his intention of applying for certain relaxations of its conditions.

Server Effendi observed to me that the Viceroy, by this mode of proceeding, had placed him in the dilemma of having to choose between the responsibility of refusing to allow the Firman to be read at all, and of letting that formality take place under circumstances that might hereafter be alleged as a reserve or limitation of its action.

I said I fully appreciated the difficulty of the position in which he was placed, and understood how impossible it was for him to admit of the slightest reserve being made with regard to his Sovereign's Firman, while he would take upon himself and his Government a responsibility that would certainly not be favourably judged, if, by a misplaced scruple in declining to allow the Khedive to appeal for a favour to the indulgence of the Sultan, he prevented the reading of the Firman which would bring this irritating dispute to a conclusion.

I had, therefore, no hesitation in distinctly giving him my opinion, which was, that if the Khedive intimated to him that his writing such a letter as he proposed to the Grand Vizier was the condition upon which he consented to the reading of the Firman, it would be impossible for him, as the Sultan's Envoy, to accept it.

If, on the other hand, the Viceroy announced himself prepared to have the Firman read with the usual honours, to touch his forehead with it as the acknowledged token of obedience, and to make its acceptance known to the public by the salute of the guns of the citadel, he would certainly not be justified in preventing such a desirable result only because the Viceroy said that, after this reception of the Firman, he would appeal to the generosity of the Sultan to relieve him from some of the conditions which he thinks severe.

In the evening there was a ball at the Viceroy's, when I told him that as it was impossible for me to remain here any longer, I hoped to be allowed to take leave of him to-day, and to thank him again for the reception which, as Her Majesty's Representative, I had met with during my stay in Egypt, but that I wished that I could have left with the certainty that the difficulties between him and the Porte were at an end.

The Khedive replied in these words:—"Your Excellency can have the satisfaction of leaving with the assurance that the differences are at an end, and that you have yourself greatly contributed to this result.

"I accept the Firman in its integrity, and with all the honours, and I confine myself to saying in my letter to the Grand Vizier that at some future time I shall make an appeal to the Sultan's generosity."

I repeated this to Server Effendi, and strongly insisted that after such an unequivocal declaration of the acceptance of the entire Firman, he would not be justified in offering too much opposition to the gratification which the Viceroy feels in announcing his intention of making some future appeal to what he recognizes as his Sovereign's generosity.

The Khedive promised to send me a copy of the letter which he proposes to write to the Grand Vizier.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

P.S.—I should have mentioned to your Lordship, with reference to the retractation by the Viceroy of the reserves with which he had at first proposed to receive the Firman, that in a conversation with Mr. Moore, which he knew was to be repeated to me, he used precisely the same expressions as he had employed to Server Effendi.

That retractation may, therefore, be properly regarded as officially recorded.

H. E.

No. 355.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received December 19.)

(No. 516.)
My Lord, *Cairo, December 9, 1869.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of the letter which the Viceroy proposes to write to the Grand Vizier by Server Effendi.

I have told his Excellency that I did not see anything in its tenor which need make him hesitate in conveying it to Aali Pasha, but he has not yet made up his mind to do so.

If he should decide upon declining to carry it, the Viceroy will forward it through his Agent at Constantinople.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 355.

The Viceroy of Egypt to Aali Pasha.

(Traduction.)

UN des hauts dignitaires de l'Empire, son Excellence Server Effendi, est arrivé ces derniers jours chargé de me remettre un Firman de Sa Majesté Impériale. Comme il était de mon devoir, j'ai reçu ce Firman avec tout le respect et la considération qui sont dus aux ordres de Sa Majesté, et la cérémonie de la lecture du Firman a eu lieu avec les honneurs et la solennité nécessaires. La mission de son Excellence étant remplie, elle s'en retourne vers le côté de la Sublime Porte, et je lui remets cette lettre avec prière pour le maintien et la continuation à mon égard des faveurs et de la bienveillance de Sa Majesté; faveurs et bienveillance dont j'ai besoin toujours et en tout état de cause. Je n'ai pas communiqué à son Excellence Server Effendi quelques sollicitations que, me fiant à la bienveillance Impériale, je désirerai adresser. La porte des faveurs de Sa Majesté Impériale étant toujours ouverte pour tous les nécessiteux, j'espère une autre fois les soumettre à la clémence de Sa Majesté et devant le regard de considération bienveillante de votre Altesse.

No. 356.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 404.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, December 21, 1869.*

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 54 of the 6th instant, and I have to state to you that I entirely approve the language you held to the Viceroy with a view to secure a proper reception of the Sultan's Firman by His Highness.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 357.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 405.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, December 21, 1869.*

I HAVE received your despatch No. 515 of the 8th instant, and I have to state to your Excellency that I entirely approve the advice you gave Server Effendi with regard to the Egyptian difficulty.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 358.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir H. Elliot.

(No. 406.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, December 21, 1869.*

I HAVE received your despatch No. 516 of the 9th instant, inclosing a copy of a letter which the Viceroy proposed to write to the Grand Vizier by Server Effendi; and I have to state to your Excellency that I entirely approve your having told that officer that you did not see anything in the tenor of that letter which need make him hesitate to convey it to Aali Pasha.

I am, &c
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 359.

Mr. Barron to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received December 23.)

(No. 516. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, December 15, 1869.*

INFORMATION has reached me by telegraph from Sir Henry Elliot that the Sultan's Firman had been read with all honours and saluted by the guns of the citadel on the 8th instant at Cairo. The Porte has received telegraphic news to the same effect from Server Effendi.

This functionary is now on his way back from Cairo, having left on the 11th, and may be expected here to-morrow.

The above news has given unqualified satisfaction to the Porte. Aali Pasha informed me, in answer to my inquiry, that he considers the difference with Egypt to be now virtually terminated.

His Highness is informed by Server Effendi that Sir Henry Elliot had largely contributed to bring this difference to a satisfactory conclusion, and has requested me to express to his Excellency the grateful sense entertained by the Porte of this invaluable service.

The late contention has been mainly a tissue of misunderstandings, caused by the practical absence of communications between the two Governments, and artfully fomented by the insinuations of third parties interested in promoting a rupture. It would be well that the Porte should consider some mode of averting similar complications for the future. One most obvious precaution would be the maintenance of an unofficial responsible Agent at Cairo, on whom this Government could depend as a medium of communication with the Khedive and a source of reliable information.

The only apparent objection to this course is that it would seem to recognize the independence of the Khedive. This objection will prove, however, to be not substantial. The Firmans of 1841, 1866, and 1867 have created the *quasi* independence of Egypt. The existence of an intelligent corresponding Agent at Cairo without any diplomatic status would recognize nothing at all, and would have no effect on the popular mind, but might do great service in averting and explaining differences. It seems unwise that, for a mere point of form, the Porte should practically debar itself from relations with the Government of Egypt.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BARRON.

No. 360.

Colonel Stanton to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received December 27.)

(No. 111.)
My Lord, *Cairo, December 16, 1869.*

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 76 of November 30, repeating a telegram sent on that date to my address, in case Her Majesty's Ambassador should be absent.

Sir H. Elliot being still at Cairo on the arrival of the telegram in question, I imme-

diately communicated its contents to his Excellency, who made the necessary representations to the Egyptian Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. STANTON.

No. 361.

Colonel Stanton to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received December 27.)

(No. 112.)
My Lord, *Cairo, December 16, 1869.*

HER Majesty's Ambassador will have reported to your Lordship the termination of the Turco-Egyptian difficulty by the Khedive's acceptance of the Firman brought by Servir Effendi. His Excellency will also have communicated to your Lordship the terms of the letter His Highness intended sending to the Grand Vizier, and which Server Effendi was to be requested to deliver, but which, on his Excellency's refusal to do so, was despatched to Constantinople by special steamer.

Since the departure of the Ottoman Envoy, nothing fresh has transpired with reference to this matter.

The Khedive appears determined to accept the situation quietly, though His Highness does not pretend to be satisfied with the solution.

In a conversation with me the other day, His Highness remarked that in his opinion the situation was anything but satisfactory. The Porte had sent him a Firman which it had declined to communicate beforehand to the Great Powers; this he considered a very dangerous precedent, as although there might be nothing very objectionable in the Firman now sent, the Porte might consider itself justified in interfering more directly in the internal administration of the country, and send orders which might be at variance with the position Egypt occupies under Treaty with the Great Powers, and of such a nature that it would be impossible for him to accept or act upon them.

I remarked to His Highness that I thought he need be under no apprehension on that head; that I was convinced the Great Powers would not consent to any undue interference on the part of the Porte with the internal administration of Egypt; and that so long as His Highness confined himself within the limits of the powers actually granted him, it was not probable the Porte would raise any objections to his proceedings, or attempt to interfere with his administration.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. STANTON.

No. 362.

The Earl of Clarendon to Colonel Stanton.

(No. 82.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, December 28, 1869.*

I HAVE received your despatch No. 112 of the 16th instant, reporting a conversation you have had with the Khedive on the subject of the Firman recently sent to His Highness by the Porte; and I have to acquaint you that I approve the language held by you on that occasion.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 363.

Colonel Stanton to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received January 3, 1870.)

(No. 115.)
My Lord, *Cairo, December 22, 1869.*

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 79 of the 10th instant, transmitting, for my information, a copy of a despatch, No. 1024, from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris respecting the relations between the Porte and the Khedive.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. STANTON.

No. 364.

Colonel Stanton to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received January 3, 1870.)

(No. 116.)
My Lord, *Cairo, December 23, 1869.*

I AM informed by Nubar Pasha that before leaving Cairo for Upper Egypt the Khedive received a telegram from Aali Pasha, informing him of the arrival at Constantinople of Server Effendi, and of the letter His Highness had written.

The Grand Vizier expressed the satisfaction of the Sultan at the reception and promulgation of the Firman, and at the same time added, that as the Porte had to take over the iron-clad frigates, His Highness was requested to forward the contracts and accounts of these vessels, in order that the mode of payment might be agreed upon.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. STANTON.

No. 365.

Musurus Pasha to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received January 3.)

My Lord, *Ambassade Impériale Ottomane, le 3 Janvier, 1870.*

JE m'empresse de communiquer à votre Excellence la dépêche télégraphique ci-incluse que je viens de recevoir de son Altesse Aali Pacha. Je me réserve l'honneur d'aller voir Excellence dès son retour à Londres.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) MUSURUS.

Inclosure in No. 365.

Aali Pasha to Musurus Pasha.

(Personnelle.)
(Télégraphique.) *Constantinople, le 1 Janvier, 1870.*

LE Khidiv ne répond pas aux télégrammes que j'ai dû lui expédier d'ordre du Sultan relativement à la remise des bâtiments cuirassés.

Le silence prolongé du Pacha ne pourra être expliqué autrement que par un désir de sa part de se soustraire à l'engagement qu'il a pris de les remettre à la Sublime Porte moyennant le payement de leur prix. Nous sommes d'autant plus fondés à croire à l'existence de ce désir que nous savons d'un autre côté que son Altesse continue ses préparatifs de guerre, et vient d'imposer un nouvel impôt extraordinaire de quinze piastres par feddan, sous prétexte de couvrir les dépenses de l'ouverture du Canal. Malgré ses engagements vis-à-vis de la Sublime Porte, malgré sa parole donnée dernièrement au Gouvernement Anglais par l'entremise de son Ambassadeur, Ismaïl Pacha paraît vouloir rouvrir la question, qu'on croyait être résolue.

Nous sommes donc convaincus que les Puissances voudront bien reconnaître que la responsabilité des conflits qui peuvent naître d'un pareil procédé ne saurait être attribuée qu'à lui-même. Notre auguste Maître, ayant rempli les devoirs de la modération, est désormais libre de prendre les mesures que la défense de ses légitimes droits lui dictera.

Veuillez communiquer le contenu de ce télégramme à Lord Clarendon, et répondre par télégraphe.

No. 366.

The Earl of Clarendon to Musurus Pasha.

M. l'Ambassadeur, *Foreign Office, January 4, 1870.*

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge, with thanks, the receipt of your note of the 3rd instant, inclosing a telegraphic despatch which you have received from the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs respecting the Viceroy of Egypt.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 367.

Mr. Barron to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received January 7, 1870.)

(No. 523.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, December 29, 1869.*

SIR HENRY ELLIOT has transmitted to you, in his No. 516 of the 9th instant, a translation of the Khedive's letter to Aali Pasha, acknowledging receipt of the Imperial Firman of the 26th of November. As that translation varies in some respects from that prepared at the Porte, I think it right to transmit to your Lordship a copy of the latter version, which is at least much more elegant.

This document seems to be perfectly respectful and unobjectionable. It announces the solemn reading of the Firman, but does not explicitly promise compliance with the orders of the same. It winds up with an expression of an intention to appeal on some future day to the Imperial generosity for certain favours not specified.

It is difficult to understand why Server Effendi declined to take charge of this letter, thus rendering necessary the despatch of a special steamer from Egypt.

This Government sent, on the 17th instant a telegram to the Khedive, requesting him to give orders for the transfer to the Porte of the contracts for the four iron-clads now being constructed at Toulon and Trieste for the Egyptian Government; and on receiving no answer has repeated this summons on the 25th, but as yet without result.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BARRON.

Inclosure in No. 367.

The Viceroy of Egypt to Aali Pasha.

(Traduction.) *6 Ramazan*, 1286 (10 *Décembre*, 1869).

J'AI reçu avec tout le respect et la considération dus aux ordres de Sa Majesté le Sultan, conformément à mes devoirs, le Firman Impérial dont son Excellence Server Effendi, l'un des grands dignitaires de l'Empire, était porteur avec mission de me le remettre, comme le lui prescrirait la lettre Vizirielle dont il était muni.

La cérémonie de lecture de ce Firman a eu lieu avec toute la solennité et les honneurs dus.

Ayant par conséquent accompli sa mission, son Excellence Server Effendi retourne à Constantinople. Je m'empresse de lui confier, pour être présentée à votre Altesse, cette lettre sollicitant à cette occasion le maintien et la continuation, comme par le passé, des hautes faveurs bienfaisantes de Sa Majesté dont j'ai besoin en tout temps et en toute circonstance.

Je n'ai pas fait part à son Excellence de certaines demandes que, comblé des bontés de Sa Majesté, je désirerais présenter au Sultan; mais la porte de la bienveillance Impériale, refuge constant des nécessiteux, étant toujours ouverte, je prendrai, peut-être, plus tard la liberté de les déposer aux pieds de Sa Clémente Majesté, et de les placer sous les yeux de sa haute et suprême bienveillance.

En portant ce qui précède à la haute connaissance de votre Altesse, je suis, &c.

No. 368.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received January 7.)

(No. 17.)
My Lord, *Paris, January 6, 1870.*

I HAD this morning the honour to receive your Lordship's despatch No. 7 of yesterday, inclosing a copy of a telegram communicated to you by Musurus Pasha, in which the Grand Vizier, Aali Pasha, complains that the Khedive of Egypt has not answered the telegrams sent to him by order of the Sultan on the subject of the delivery to the Porte of his iron-clad vessels. The French newspapers of this morning contained, moreover, a telegram from Trieste, dated the 4th instant, which stated that letters received from Constantinople gave reason to apprehend a fresh misunderstanding between the Porte and the Khedive; that the Khedive had (it seemed) refused to make over to the Turkish Government his iron-clad ships and Chassepot guns; and that two newspapers at Constantinople had been suspended for publishing articles favourable to the Khedive.

I asked Count Daru this afternoon if he had received any intelligence on the subject. He said that he had no telegraphic news, but that it was, if he recollected right, stated in a written despatch which had arrived in the morning from Constantinople that the silence of the Khedive was not to be taken as implying a refusal to comply with the demand of the Porte.

I told M. Daru that it appeared from a telegram from Constantinople which had been communicated to your Lordship, and which must be of a later date than any written despatch, that the silence of the Khedive had been taken very ill by the Porte. I was not, I said, in possession of information sufficiently complete to enable me to propose at this moment any definite step to be taken in common by our two Governments. I would therefore only express my hope that England and France would act, as they had hitherto done, in perfect concert in this matter, and my conviction that, if the two Powers were united, they would always be able to allay any storm which might threaten the tranquillity of the Levant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 369.

The Earl of Clarendon to Lord Lyons.

(No. 13.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, January 8, 1870.*

I APPROVE the language you held to Count Daru, as reported in your Excellency's despatch No. 17 of the 6th instant, respecting the complaint of the Porte that the Khedive has not answered the telegrams, sent to him by order of the Sultan, on the subject of the delivery to the Porte of his iron-clad vessels.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 370.

The Earl of Clarendon to Lord Lyons.

(No. 28.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, January 15, 1870.*

I TRANSMITTED to you, in my despatch No. 7 of the 5th instant, a copy of a telegram from Aali Pasha, dated the 3rd instant, which had been communicated to me by Musurus Pasha, expressing the dissatisfaction of the Porte at the delay of the Viceroy of Egypt in making over to it the iron-clads, and at his omission to notice the demands addressed to him by the Grand Vizier on that subject. I directed your Excellency at the same time, in a private letter, to communicate confidentially with the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, who had recently come into office, in order that Her Majesty's Government, before making any formal proposition to the Imperial Government, might obtain an insight into its views as regards the relations between the Porte and the Viceroy.

M. de Lavalette yesterday read to me a despatch from Count Daru, saying that the Imperial Government were strongly desirous of upholding the agreement (accord) between England and France in regard to the affairs of Egypt, and would not hesitate in case of necessity to unite its efforts with those of England to insure the execution of the engagements which the Khedive had entered into towards the Sultan.

I requested M. de Lavalette to thank Count Daru, in the name of Her Majesty's Government, for this gratifying announcement of the policy of the Imperial Government; and I was glad at the same time to inform him that Aali Pasha had telegraphed to Musurus Pasha that the Khedive had replied to the Porte, and had accounted for his delays in answering the Grand Vizier's telegrams in a manner that was quite satisfactory.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 371.

Sir A. Buchanan to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received January 17.)

(No. 14. Secret.)
My Lord, *St. Petersburgh, January 12, 1870.*

WITH reference to my Secret despatch of November 16 last, I have reason to believe that the Viceroy of Egypt has given secretly orders to Messrs. Remington for rifles, which will more than replace those which he may send to Constantinople; and I am also assured that it was from his having failed to provide himself with ammunition for the rifles which he ordered when in London, that the apparent abandonment, for the present, of his ambitious projects, may be attributed.

I am told that the money by which these orders are paid is provided by a secret transaction with the Comptoir d'Escompte at Paris.

It is also said that the Viceroy has ordered eighteen Mitrailleuse guns from the United States, which will bring up his strength in these guns to twenty-one, as he has already received three.

This information has come to me from a person who can have no interest in stating what is untrue, and who has means of knowing the truth.

I am also told that the Greek Government have ordered rifles which will bring up their stock to 50,000, and that they have money at Paris ready to pay for them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ANDREW BUCHANAN.

No. 372.

Colonel Stanton to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received January 17.)

(No. 4.)
My Lord, *Cairo, January 7, 1870.*

IN my despatch No. 116 of the 22nd December last, I had the honour to report to your Lordship that a letter had been received by the Khedive from the Grand Vizier, expressing the satisfaction at the manner in which the last Firman had been received, and requesting the Khedive to forward to Constantinople the contracts and accounts of the iron-clad vessels that were to be handed over to the Ottoman Government in order that arrangements might be entered into as to the manner in which the payments for these vessels were to be made.

Being desirous of ascertaining what answer had been sent by His Highness to the Grand Vizier on this subject, I requested Nubar Pasha to inform me how the matter stood, and whether the contracts called for had been transmitted to the Porte, and regret to have to report to your Lordship, that I am assured no reply has as yet been sent to this letter.

The Khedive is still absent in Upper Egypt, but is expected to reach Cairo in the course of next week; and I propose, immediately on His Highness's return, to represent to him the necessity of complying, without further delay, with the demand of the Grand Vizer, which cannot in any manner be considered as trenching upon the rights accruing to the Khedive under the stipulations of the Firmans regulating his position in Egypt.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. STANTON.

No. 373.

The Earl of Clarendon to Colonel Stanton.

(No. 3.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, January 21, 1870.*

I TRANSMIT, for your information, the accompanying copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Lord Lyons,* relating to a conversation which I have held with the French Ambassador at this Court, on the subject of the relations of the Porte with the Khedive.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

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* No. 370.

No. 374.

The Earl of Clarendon to Colonel Stanton.

(No. 4.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, January 21, 1870.*

I HAVE received your despatch No. 4 of the 7th instant, and I have to acquaint you that I approve the course you propose to pursue in order to induce the Khedive to comply with the request of the Grand Vizier that he should transmit to Constantinople the accounts and contracts for the iron-clads.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 375.

Mr. Barron to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received January 22.)

(No. 3. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, January 11, 1870.*

WITH reference to my despatch No 523 of the 29th December, reporting that this Government had sent two telegrams to the Khedive on the 17th and 25th ultimo, requesting him to give orders for the transfer to the Porte of the contracts for the four iron-clads building for His Highness, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that, in consequence of his continual silence, the Sultan, being much irritated, ordered a third telegram to be dispatched on the 3rd instant.

An answer has been at last received on the 8th instant, addressed to Kiamil Bey, the Khedive's agent here, offering as an excuse for the delay His Highness not having yet received the necessary accounts from Toulon and Trieste, and adding that, as soon as these were received, he would lose no time in conforming to the wishes of the Porte.

This is considered as satisfactory for the present. It is still, however, feared that further delays and misunderstandings will arise in carrying out practically the points agreed to in principle.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BARRON.

No. 376.

Colonel Stanton to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received January 24.)

(No. 5.)
My Lord, *Cairo, January 13, 1870.*

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 82 of the 28th ultimo, approving of the language held by me to the Khedive on the subject of the Firman recently sent to His Highness by the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. STANTON.

No. 377.

Colonel Stanton to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received January 24.)

(No. 6.)
My Lord, *Cairo, January 13, 1870.*

HIS Highness the Khedive returned rather unexpectedly to Cairo from his visit to Upper Egypt on the 7th instant, having hurried his journey in consequence of the disturbances at Alexandria, caused by the Greeks, as mentioned to your Lordship in my despatch No. 3 of the 7th instant.

I waited on His Highness on the 9th, and, in the course of conversation, asked whether His Highness had replied to the Grand Vizier's despatch on the subject of the iron-clad vessels; and was informed, in reply, that an answer had been sent to Aali Pasha, to the effect that the accounts and contracts for these vessels would be transmitted to Constantinople as soon as possible. The Khedive further explained that the delay in the transmission of these documents arose from the fact that he had to collect them from

different countries; that, for instance, the armament of the ships had been ordered from Sir W. Armstrong, and he had not as yet received the account on this head.

From His Highness' manner I gather that he anticipates considerable difficulty in recovering from the Porte the expense incurred in connection with these vessels, and that he is not disposed to hand them over to the Ottoman authorities until definite arrangements have been made as to the means of payment.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. STANTON.

No. 378.

Colonel Stanton to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received January* 24.)

(No. 8. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Cairo, January* 13, 1870.

I REGRET to have to report to your Lordship that, notwithstanding the acceptance by the Khedive of the Firman recently issued by the Porte, the Egyptian Government continues to show great activity in repairing and strengthening the coast defences of the country.

During a recent conversation with the Khedive, I drew His Highness' attention to the impolicy of this measure, and endeavoured to explain to him that these armaments were by no means required for the defence of his country, as Egypt was not threatened by any Power; and I added that they must inevitably cause umbrage to the Porte, where they would be regarded as an additional proof of His Highness' hostility. The Khedive made no attempt to deny that these armaments were being pushed on with considerable activity, and admitted that he was endeavouring to place the country in a thorough state of defence, adding that it could hardly be a matter of surprise that he should be suspicious of the Porte, when the French Acting Agent and Consul-General had lately read him a despatch he had received from his Government, in which the question of his deposal by the Porte was treated as a possible contingency.

I again assured His Highness I was convinced he need be under no such apprehension, and that so long as he exercised his rule within the limits of the rights conferred on him he would receive all necessary support from the Great Powers, and the Porte would not attempt to carry such a measure into execution.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. STANTON.

No. 379.

Colonel Stanton to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received January* 24.)

(No. 9. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Cairo, January* 14, 1870.

WITH reference to my immediately preceding despatch, I have the honour to report to your Lordship that I mentioned to M. Tricon yesterday the remark the Khedive had made to me touching the despatch he had communicated.

M. Tricon assured me His Highness had greatly exaggerated the purport of the despatch in question; that no reference whatever was made to his deposal, but that His Highness was advised frankly to accept the present situation and not increase the disfavour with which he was received by the Porte, by ill-advised demonstrations of hostility against the Sultan.

I agreed fully with my French colleague as to the importance of endeavouring to persuade His Highness to discontinue his armaments and all other acts tending to excite the suspicions of the Porte, and assured him I should, on the first opportunity speak to His Highness in this sense.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. STANTON.

No. 380.

Aali Pasha to Musurus Pasha.—(*Communicated to the Earl of Clarendon by Musurus Pasha, January* 26.)

M. l'Ambassadeur, *Le* 12 *Janvier*, 1870.

J'AI l'honneur de vous transmettre, ci-joint en copie, pour votre information, la lettre par laquelle Son Altesse le Khidiv d'Egypte nous annonce la lecture solennelle du Firman qui lui avait été envoyé par l'entremise de son Excellence Server Effendi.

Veuillez, &c
(Signé) AALI.

Inclosure in No. 380.

The Viceroy of Egypt to the Grand Vizier.

(Traduction.) 6 *Ramazan*, 1286 (9 *Décembre*, 1869).

J'AI reçu avec tout le respect et la considération dus aux ordres de Sa Majesté le Sultan, conformément à mes devoirs, le Firman Impérial dont son Excellence Server Effendi, l'un des grands dignitaires de l'Empire, était porteur, avec mission de me le remettre comme le lui prescrivait la lettre Vizirielle dont il était muni.

La cérémonie de lecture de ce Firman a eu lieu avec toute la solennité et les honneurs dus.

Ayant, par conséquent, accompli sa mission, son Excellence Server Effendi retourne à Constantinople.

Je m'empresse de lui confier, pour être présentée à votre Altesse, cette lettre, en sollicitant à cette occasion le maintien et la continuation, comme par le passé, des hautes faveurs bienfaisantes de Sa Majesté dont j'ai besoin en tout temps et en toute circonstance.

Je n'ai pas fait part à son Excellence de certaines demandes que, comblé des bontés de Sa Majesté, je désirerais présenter au Sultan; mais la porte de la bienveillance Impériale, refuge constant des nécessiteux, étant toujours ouverte, je prendrai, peut-être, plus tard la liberté de les déposer aux pieds de Sa Clémente Majesté, et de les placer sous les yeux de sa haute et suprême bienveillance.

En portant ce qui précède à la haute connaissance de votre Altesse, je suis avec respect, &c.

No. 381.

The Earl of Clarendon to Lord Lyons.

(No. 51. Confidential.)
My Lord, *Foreign Office, January* 26, 1870.

I INCLOSE copies of two despatches from Colonel Stanton,* respecting a statement made to him by the Khedive that he was justified by the language of a despatch recently read to him by the French Acting Consul-General in entertaining suspicions of the ultimate designs of the Porte.

The account given by M. Tricon to Colonel Stanton of the purport of that despatch differs, as your Excellency will perceive, very materially from that given by the Khedive; and you may have the means of ascertaining the exact nature of the communication which M. Tricon was instructed to make to the Viceroy.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

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* Nos. 378 and 379.

No. 382.

The Earl of Clarendon to Colonel Stanton.

(No. 7.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 27, 1870.

I HAVE received your despatch No. 8, Confidential, of the 13th instant, reporting a conversation with the Viceroy on the subject of the impolicy of further armaments in Egypt, and I have to acquaint you that I approve your language on that occasion.

I am, &c.

(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 383.

The Earl of Clarendon to Colonel Stanton.

(No. 8.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 28, 1870.

I TRANSMIT to you, for your information, a copy of a despatch to Lord Lyons, on the subject of the relations between the Porte and the Khedive.*

I am, &c.

(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 384.

Colonel Stanton to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received January 31.)

(No. 11.)

My Lord, *Cairo, January* 20, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that, during a conversation with the Khedive on the evening of the 18th instant, His Highness informed me he had forwarded to Constantinople the accounts of the iron-clad vessels asked for by the Grand Vizier.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. STANTON.

No. 385.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received February 2.)

No. 86.)

My Lord, *Paris, February* 1, 1870.

COUNT DARU told me this afternoon that his news respecting Egypt was partly good and partly bad. The good part was that the delivery of the iron-clad ships to the Porte was an accomplished fact. The bad, that the Khedive was making armaments, delivering guns to the Arabs, and doing other things which might give umbrage to the Porte.

Count Daru had, he said, instructed the French Agent at Cairo to urge the Khedive to carry into execution punctually and with good faith the engagement he had made with the Porte, and to desist from proceedings which were simply idle demonstrations ("fanfarronades").

On the other hand, he had cautioned the Porte against being captious and always on the watch to find charges against the Khedive.

I have, &c.

(Signed) LYONS.

No. 386.

The Earl of Clarendon to Lord Lyons.

(No. 62.)

My Lord, *Foreign Office, January* 2, 1870.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch No. 86 of the 1st instant, respecting a conversation with Count Daru respecting the relations between Turkey and Egypt; and

* No. 370.

I have to instruct you to acquaint his Excellency that Her Majesty's Government will send without delay instructions to the British Representatives at Constantinople and in Egypt to the same effect as those which he has sent to the French Ambassador.

I am, &c.

(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 387.

The Earl of Clarendon to Colonel Stanton.

(No. 10.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, February* 2, 1870.

RUMOURS reach Her Majesty's Government, from time to time, of measures being taken by the Viceroy indicative of an intention to throw off his allegiance to the Porte.

You will make it your business to watch and report to me the progress of any such measures; and, in regard to them, you will not disguise from the Viceroy that Her Majesty's Government, no less than that of France, as he will learn from the French Consul-General, will view with deep concern any proceedings on his part calculated to disturb the peace of the Levant.

I am, &c.

(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 388.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Barron.

(No. 17.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, February* 2, 1870.

HER MAJESTY'S Government are afraid that although outwardly the dissensions between the Porte and the Viceroy have been allayed, the state of feeling that exists between them is very far from satisfactory.

The Viceroy seems, indeed, to have made over the iron-clads to the Porte; but, on the other hand, rumours are prevalent of military preparations being made in Egypt, such as the Porte might reasonably take exception to.

Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General in Egypt will be directed to speak with the Viceroy very seriously on this matter, and to impress upon him the disfavour with which any such provocations as are imputed to him will be viewed by the British Government.

At the same time, however, Her Majesty's Government would urge the Porte not to deal captiously with the Viceroy, or to assume that he has in contemplation measures distasteful to the Porte and inconsistent with his allegiance to the Sultan. Constant bickerings between the Porte and the Viceroy while they will tend to keep alive animosity and ill-will, cannot fail to weaken the influence of the Porte, and eventually to lead to embarrassments of a serious character.

You will see by the inclosed despatch from Lord Lyons,* that instructions of the like tenour will be sent to the French Agents at Constantinople and in Egypt.

The Porte must take care in its dealings with the Viceroy to guard itself against the imputation of having shown undue suspicion or harshness, for the Great Powers of Europe are so deeply interested in the maintenance of peace in the Levant, that they will scrutinize very closely any proceedings calculated to disturb it.

I inclose a copy of my instructions to Colonel Stanton on this subject.†

I am, &c.

(Signed) CLARENDON.

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* No. 385. † No. 387.

No. 389.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Barron.

(No. 21. Secret.)

Foreign Office, February 3, 1870.

Sir,

I TRANSMIT for your information the accompanying copies of despatches, as noted in the margin,* respecting the reported proceedings of the Viceroy of Egypt with reference to the Porte.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 390.

Mr. Barron to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received February 4.)

(No. 10. Confidential.)

Constantinople, January 26, 1870.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my No. 3 of 11th instant, I have the honour to report that the Khedive has sent here Abram Bey with the accounts for the four iron-clads now building for His Highness at Toulon and Trieste, which are to be delivered to the Porte. The contract price of the three building at Toulon is—

	£
For the frigate	203,630
For the two corvettes	186,370
Total	390,000

To this sum have to be added the expenses of some alterations, the price of the ship building at Trieste, and the armament for all four ordered in England.

It has come to my knowledge that His Highness has intimated to the Minister of Finance that he requires payment for the above purposes within this month, or February at latest, of 422,966*l.*; and his language seems to imply, though this is not expressly stated, that the delivery of these vessels is made conditional on their being previously paid for.

The selection for this mission of Abram Bey, a former Turkish official, who abandoned this service for that of Egypt, has additionally indisposed the Porte. The constant warlike preparations on the Egyptian coast tend also to keep up an uneasy feeling.

Aali Pasha sent a message through Kiamil Bey, the Viceroy's agent here, complaining of the appointment of Abram Bey, and talked of dispatching his answer through Halim Pasha (the uncle and personal enemy of the Khedive), whereupon the latter replied by telegram, expressing his apologies and regrets to Aali Pasha for the above appointment.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. BARRON.

No. 391.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received February 4.)

(No. 97.)

Paris, February 3, 1870.

My Lord,

WITH reference to Mr. Baron's Confidential despatch No. 10 of the 26th ultimo, which I forward to your Lordship this evening, I have the honour to report that Count Daru told me this afternoon that he had reason to hope that the irritation at Constantinople against the Khedive was in some measure calmed.

Offence had been naturally taken by the Porte at the selection by the Khedive of Abram Bey for a mission to the Porte. This person had, Count Daru was informed, been convicted of corrupting high Turkish functionaries, and papers found after the death of Aali Pasha's own son-in-law had shown that this near connection of the Grand Vizier had been himself tampered with. The French authorities had seconded the Porte's remonstrances, and the Khedive had made proper apologies. This intervention of the French had, perhaps, inclined the Porte to listen with favour to the moderate counsels the

* Nos. 371, 385, and 386.

French Ambassador had given. At all events, it appeared from despatches which Count Daru had just received, that there was some slight improvement in the relations between the Khedive and the Porte.

In obedience to the instruction contained in your Lordship's despatch No. 62 of the 2nd February, I informed Count Daru that your Lordship would send instructions to Constantinople and Cairo similar to those which he had sent to the French Representatives at those places.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 392.

Colonel Stanton to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received February 14.)

(No. 17.)

Cairo, February 3, 1870.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's depatch No. 3 of the 20th ultimo, transmitting for my information a copy of a despatch addressed to Lord Lyons, relating a conversation your Lordship had held with the French Ambassador on the subject of the relations of the Porte with the Khedive. These relations are, I believe, now re-established on a good footing, and I am informed by His Highness the explanations he has given to the Grand Vizier have been considered as perfectly satisfactory.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. STANTON.

No. 393.

Colonel Stanton to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received February 14.)

(No. 18.)

Cairo, February 3, 1870.

My Lord,

WITH reference to the subject of your Lordship's despatch No. 4 of the 20th January, I have the honour to report that His Highness the Khedive has informed me he has received a telegram from the Porte to the effect that orders had been given for the immediate payment, through the Imperial Ottoman Bank, of the sums due to His Highness for the iron-clad vessels handed over by him.

His Highness stated the money was not as yet actually paid, but that the affair might be considered as virtually terminated.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. STANTON.